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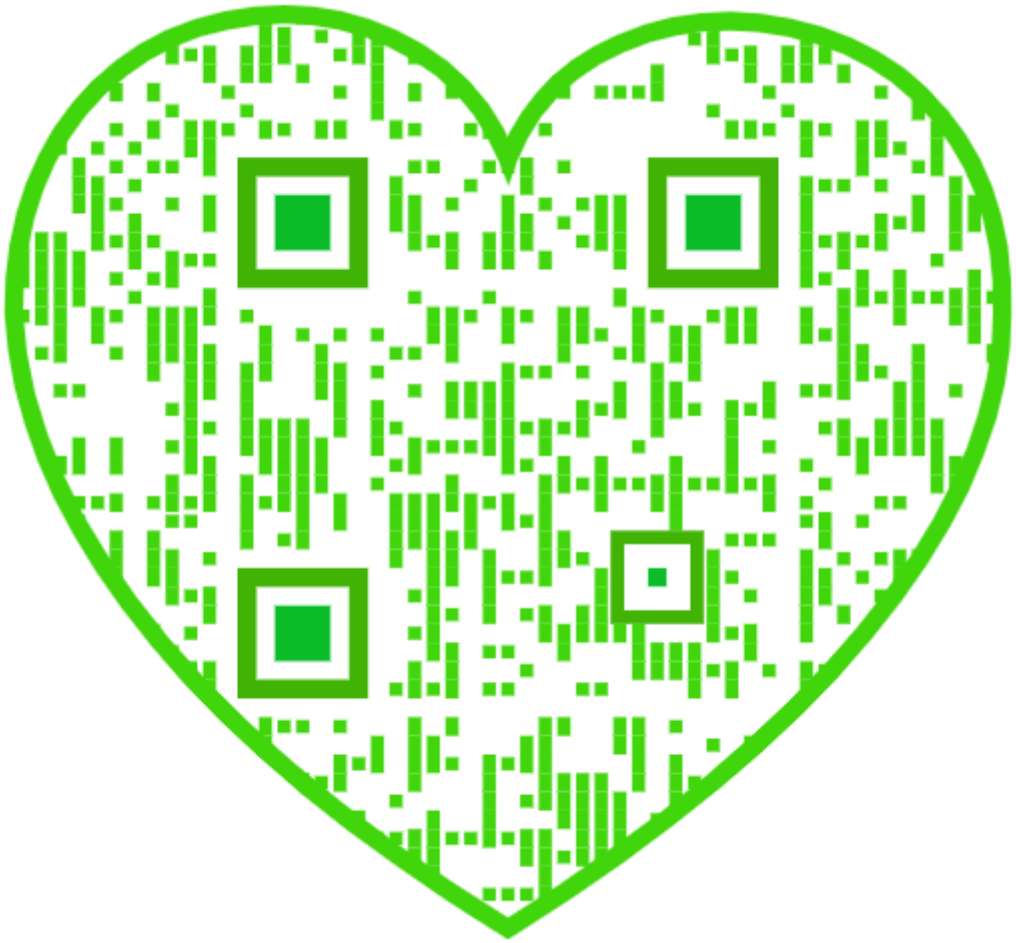

American Journalism

Volume 11 Number 1 Winter 1994

Published by
The American Journalism Historians Association

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EDITORIAL PURPOSE. *American Journalism* publishes articles, research notes, book reviews, and correspondence dealing with the history of journalism. Such contributions may focus on social, economic, intellectual, political, or legal issues. *American Journalism* also welcomes articles that treat the history of communication in general; the history of broadcasting, advertising, and public relations; the history of media outside the United States; and theoretical issues in the literature or methods of media history.

SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor Wallace B. Eberhard, Editor, College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia, Athens 30602-3018. Telephone: (706) 542-5033. FAX: (706) 542-4785. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including tables and footnotes.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author includes a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussion of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, suggestions for future research, or response to material previously published in *American Journalism*. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

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From the Editor's Desk...

WE GATHERED SOMEWHERE JUST around the corner from the stuffed remains of Comanche (for the uninitiated, that's the horse that carried one of George Armstrong Custer's troopers into but not out of the Battle of the Little Big Horn) on the second floor of the museum on the campus of the University of Kansas. We were not there, of course, to gaze at ol' Comanche and the other exhibits of Kansas and Western Americana, but to honor one of our own, Edwin Emery. He was presented with the AJHA Kobre Award for Lifetime Achievement in and Contributions to the Field of Journalism History and in Acknowledgment of Extraordinary Dedication to Students. The award's title may be a bit oversized, but how fitting that Ed was the recipient and how timely, in the wake of the news of his passing, that the association could not present it to him in person and hear him reminisce about his life in academe. We can't recite the specifics of Ed's response, but it is not revisionist history to recall that it was a combination of wit, reality, and justifiable pride. He has been remembered in other journals and newsletters in recent months by former students and colleagues. The author of a manuscript which will appear in a future issue of AJ has asked that the article be dedicated to Ed. Request happily granted. We did not have the pleasure of sharing a classroom with him, but Hazel Dicken-Garcia's essay in *Journalism History* struck a particular chord when she labeled him as "enabling." Our first refereed journal article saw the light of day when Ed was editor of *Journalism Quarterly*, and he indeed "enabled" a newcomer into the sometimes opaque ways of academe. He patiently asked for changes in the original piece, encouraged us through the final draft, and loudly praised us next time we met: "THERE'S one of our authors!" Ed was just about anything one might want to use as a model in the academic life: teacher, scholar, innovator, enabler. Beyond that, more important, he was the joyful embodiment of a human being who made the most of the moment at hand, to the lasting gain of our profession.

&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.

THIS ISSUE opens the reign of Thomas Connery of the University of St. Thomas as our Book Editor. His address is on the inside covers. Don't hesitate to volunteer ideas or your critical efforts in his department...**A SPECIAL ISSUE OF *AJ*** under the title, "World War II and the Mass Media," is in the works. It will be published in 1995, marking the fiftieth anniverary of the end

of that "good" but awful conflict. We plan several invited essays on the historiography of the period and invite your suggestions in that regard. We hope to reveal the slate of esssayists in the next isue of AJ. We encourage and solicit your research manuscripts in this area, and have already received some. Deadline for manuscripts for this issue will be September 30, 1994.....**FOR THOSE WHO ARE** trying to fit these issues mailed from Athens in proper order with others in their *AJ* collection, some guidance. The immediate past editor, John Pauly, late of Tulsa University, now at Saint Louis University, will issue Volume 9 and Numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 10. So, you will eventually have all that you are entitled to as member or subscriber...**THE GOOD NEWS** (as far as an editor is concerned) is that the trickle of manuscripts is turning into a nice, steady stream. The bad news may be that we are getting a bit (but not too far yet) behind in turnaround to authors. Some of that is due to the press of business of teaching, and some to the occasional reviewer who loses sight of the manuscript assigned. The editorial purpose and requirements for *AJ* are detailed on the inside covers. We invite your submissions. ... **THE FOURTEENTH EDITION** of the *Chicago Manual of Style* is now at your neighborhood bookstore. A page turner it isn't, but it's what we use...**AN AGREEMENT** negotiated by John Pauly is noted on the inside back cover of this issue. It indicates that *AJ* is now indexed in two of the finding aids we all consult frequently, *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.* **IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY** as to whether *AJ* will consider the use of illustrations, the answer is yes. Suggest this when you submit a manuscript, if you wish...**SELECTED BACK ISSUES of AJ** are available. They include: Volume 7, Number 1, Winter 1990; Volume 7, Number 2, Spring, 1990; Volume 7, Number 4, Fall, 1990; Volume 8, Number 1, Winter, 1991; Volume 8, Number 2, Spring/Summer 1991; Volume 8, Number 4, Fall, 1991. The cost is $5 per issue for addresses in the United States, $7.50 overseas. Send your needs and check to the editor, made out to the AJHA....**EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS** who have recently reviewed manuscripts for *AJ* include: Donna Dickerson, South Florida; Thomas Schartz, Ohio State; Louise Benjmain, Georgia; James Startt, Valparaiso; Sam Riley, Virginia Tech; Betty Houchin Winfield, Missouri; Sam Kuzcun, Colorado; Arthur Kaul, Southern Mississippi; Jean Chance, Florida; June Admason, Emeritus, Tennessee; Elliott King, Loyola-Maryland; Jack Censer, George Mason; Ann Colbert, Indiana-Purdue, Fort Wayne; Jake Highton, Nevada-Reno; Sharon Murphy, Marquette; Zoe Smith, Missouri; Greg Lisby, Georgia State; Zena Beth McGlashan, Montana; Kathleen Endres, Akron; Patrick Washburn, Ohio; Rodger Streitmatter, American; Frank Johnson, Georgia State; Michael Murray, Missouri-St. Louis; Sherilyn Bennion, Humboldt State; William Huntziker, Minnesota; Karen Miller, Georgia; Charles Marler, Abilene Christian; Ted Smythe, Sterling; and Karen List, Massachusetts-Amherst. A tip of the *AJ* editor's hat to those who have taken part.

Research Notes

A repository for editorial cartoons, the funny papers, and other journalistic graphics: The Ohio State CGA Collection

by Lucy Shelton Caswell

A study conducted in the late 1970s found that editorial cartoons rank with letters to the editor as the best read items on newspaper editorial pages.[1] A survey by Metropolitan Sunday Newspapers reported in the 30 January 1993 issue of *Editor and Publisher* found that 113 million people read newspaper comic strips, with 94 percent of Sunday paper readers scanning the funnies.[2] Such utilization figures might lead one to believe that journalism historians would naturally have found this to be an interesting and worthwhile area for scholarship. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. Serious research on the history of American cartooning has been left to an occasional dissertation or article. Virtually no journalism schools regularly offer courses on the history of newspaper cartooning. Newspaper executives decide what editorial cartoon or comic strip to run based on random information (like whether or not the editor's mother-in-law likes the feature) rather than on informed judgments.

The neglect of such an important and powerful mass communication medium can be traced to numerous causes, one of which has been the lack of easily accessible primary and secondary research materials in the field. Fortunately that deficiency is no longer the case. The most extensive cartoon-related American academic research library is The Ohio State University Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library. Its primary collecting mission is to develop comprehensive holdings which document the history of printed cartoons in the United States. The library is home to more than fourteen thousand books, more than six hundred periodical titles, thousands of original cartoons and related manuscript materials, and assorted other published works on cartoon art.

Milton Caniff, creator of *Terry and the Pirates* and *Steve Canyon* and a 1930 graduate of the University, contributed his papers in 1973 to establish the nucleus of the facility. Since this initial contribution, the Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library (known as CGA on the University's library computer system) has enjoyed rapid development. Today, CGA houses more than two hundred thousand original cartoons representing the genres of editorial cartoons, comic strips, sports cartoons, magazine gag cartoons, and comic book art. CGA also has a representative collection of comic books and underground comics. The manuscript collection includes more than a thousand linear feet of materials. In addition to Milton Caniff's papers, it includes, among

1. Elsa Mohn and Maxwell McCombs, "Who Reads Us and Why," *Masthead* 32 (Winter 1980-81): 20.
2. David Astor, "Study Finds Comics Read by 113 Million," *Editor & Publisher*, 30 Jan. 1993, 34.

others, the papers of Will Eisner and Walt Kelly.

In early 1990 the library moved into a state-of-the-art facility with carefully controlled temperature and humidity in order to retard the deterioration of paper, photographs, and other materials of historical interest. A special security system ensures the safety of the collections. As a part of the University Libraries system, the Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library is supported by superb reference collections, extensive microform holdings, and large subject area libraries in related fields.

The largest collection of original cartoons is the Robert Roy Metz Collection which contains more than eighty-three thousand originals by 113 cartoonists. Donated by United Media in 1992, the value of the Metz Collection was appraised at more than $9.1 million. Among the sub-collections within the Metz Collection are more than eighteen hundred *Nancy* comic strips, almost four thousand examples of *Our Boarding House*, and 1,350 editorial cartoons by Bill Crawford.

The Woody Gelman Collection includes the most extensive publicly available collection of Winsor McCay's work. Numerous examples of all of McCay's comic strips and the majority of his editorial cartoons are held as original drawings, proofs or tear sheets.

The library also serves as the respository for several complete cartoon exhibits including *American Cartoonists Celebrate the First Amendment*, *The Fine Line in Central America*, and the feminist cartoon display, *Pork Roasts*. Lengthy runs of comic strip and editorial cartoon syndicate proofs from United Media and National Editorial Association, King Features, Inc., and Universal Press are available. Extensive examples of historic comic strip pages have been donated by Bob Bindig and Draper Hill.

Several cartoon-related collections are housed in the library. The Toni Mendez Collection documents business aspects of cartooning through the records of her many years of work as a licensing agent representing cartoonists. The Richard Samuel West Collection includes the records of *The Puck Papers* and *Target*, two publications that focused on political cartooning. Selby Kelly contributed her files from the Screen Cartoonists Guild. The Shel Dorf Collection includes comic strip scrapbooks, correspondence files, and related materials. Clara Gee Stamaty Ziment donated a large clipping file compiled by magazine cartoonist Stan Stamaty, plus examples of his published work. The Mark Cohen Collection includes correspondence files and original cartoon art. The Charles Schulz Competition Archives document this award which recognizes outstanding young cartoonists.

The development of professional associations for cartoonists may be traced through the archives of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists and the National Cartoonists Society. The Marge Devine Collection includes published works related to her long tenure as the scribe of the National Cartoonists Society. Marvin Tannenberg donated a virtually complete set of the publications of the Cartoonists Guild. Also available is the Ron Wolin Memorial Archive of the Cartoonists Guild Papers.

Andrews and McMeel has contributed a copy of each of their cartoon-related publications for several years. Extensive, often complete, runs of several hundred serials are available. Both trade journals such as *Editor & Publisher Syndicate Directory*, and

publications which feature cartoons such as *CARTOONIST PROfiles*, *L'Eclipse*, *Liberator*, *MAD Magazine*, *New York Illustrated News*, *Puck*, and *Witty World* are held. Albert L. Simpson of Union, New Jersey, donated the only known complete set of the German-language *Puck*, once the property of its publisher, Adolph Schwarzmann.

A biographical registry of cartoonists was established in 1991 to serve as a source of factual information for researchers. Because of the difficulty in obtaining accurate biographical information about cartoonists, information from the registry is requested by persons worldwide. An extensive clipping file of cartoon-related articles organized by subject is also maintained. This is particularly useful because, at the present time, much information relating to cartooning is published in sources which are not indexed.

CGA was one of the founding members of the Consortium of Popular Culture Collections in the Midwest (CPCCM) which was established in 1990. In addition to The Ohio State University Libraries, this regional network includes Bowling Green State University, Kent State University, and Michigan State University. At BGSU the collections are wide-ranging with special strengths at the Popular Culture Library in popular fiction and the performing arts, and at the Sound Recordings Archives in recorded popular music. At KSU the collections are especially strong in contemporary theatre and other performing arts; selected detective and science fiction/fantasy writers; and popular children's literature centered in the Saalfield Publishing Company Archives. At MSU the Russel B. Nye Popular Culture Collection includes comic books, popular and religious fiction, and materials relating to popular information. CPCCM members work cooperatively on issues of mutual concern such as collection development, access to collections, and preservation. For example, because CGA shares collecting interests with the Russel B. Nye Popular Culture Collection at Michigan State University, the consortium offers the opportunity for practical and cost-effective collaboration and resource sharing.

In order to inform interested persons about the resources available, CGA has been active in undertaking programming related to cartoon art by mounting numerous exhibitions and, most notably, by sponsoring the triennial Festival of Cartoon Art. Since its beginning in 1983, the festival has featured scholarly exhibitions with published catalogues, panel discussions, presentations by individual speakers, and other special events intended to promote interest in the research and study of cartooning.

CGA's most recent effort to stimulate cartoon-related research is the scholarly journal *INKS: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* which is edited by the library's curator (with the assistance of a distinguished editorial board) and published three times a year by The Ohio State University Press. The first issue of *INKS* appeared in February 1994 with a cover illustration by Bill Watterson, creator of *Calvin and Hobbes*.

CGA's mission to collect materials related to newspaper cartooning comprehensively and to make materials available upon request set it apart from a museum. While many of the library's holdings are of museum-quality, there are also many items (such as cartoonists' fan letters and association archives) which are of potential interest to the researcher, but are not appropriate for a museum setting.

As the library's name indicates, other special collections are also available there to researchers. More than 125,000 film posters and stills dating from the early 1900s to the mid 1960s are held, plus a contemporary collection of film press books. The Floyd and Marion Rinhart Collection is one of the nation's most notable collections of cased photographs (daguerreotypes, ambrotypes and tintypes). Primary sources related to magazine illustration are held, with the Jon Whitcomb Collection being the most extensive. A modest collection of propaganda posters from World Wars I and II is owned by the library.

Because this is a research facility, items from its collections are available for advanced study upon request. None may be borrowed for personal use outside the reading room. Many of the manuscript collections and most published works held are described on the international Online Library Computer Catalog (OCLC) which may be searched at public and academic libraries throughout the world. When possible, researchers are encouraged to make advance arrangements prior to coming to the library and all researchers are required to register. For reasons of security, use of the reading room is restricted to persons using the library's holdings.

Some help on using the CGA Research Library

Itemized finding aids are available in the library. To locate original cartoons, researchers should look under the cartoonist's name in the card catalog and in the inventory books. The work of some cartoonists may be found in collections bearing the name of their collector or donor. For example, original work by a number of well-known cartoonists may be found in the collections of Philip Sills, Leo and Marie Egli, Louis (Doc) Goodwin, and the Charles Kuhn. The Sydney Carroll Collection focuses on magazine cartoons by several artists. The Herban-Livingston Collection features original work by several newspaper cartoonists.

For those persons named below, twenty or more original cartoons are held in The Ohio State University Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library. Researchers who do not see the name of a particular particular cartoonist are encouraged to contact the library. Work by many artists is held in clippings, proofs and scrapbooks, and hundreds of artists are represented by fewer than twenty original cartoons.

Steven Amy
Roger Armstrong
Ed Ashley
Jim Baker
Charles L. Bartholomew (Bart)
Brian Basset
Tom Bateson
Tom Batiuk
Ned Beard
Walter Berndt
Jim Berry
Jim Borgman
Frank Borth
Jim Branagan
George Breisacher
Harry S. Bressler
Ernie Bushmiller
Brian Campbell
Milton Caniff
Al Capp
Les Carroll
Mick Casale
Mel Casson
Dick Cavalli
Neg Cochran
Paul Coker
Marcia Course

Eugene Craig
Bill Crawford
Bill Crooks
Tom Curtis
O'Dell Dean
Bernard Dibble (DIB)
John Dirks
Ed Dodd
Edwina Dumm
Will Eisner
Leo Egli
Samuel D. Ehrhart
Bob Englehart
Joe Escourido
Ray Evans
Flash Fairfield
Bill Farmer
Jerry Fearing
George Fett
John Fischetti
Dudley T. Fisher, Jr.
Creig Flessel
Henry Formhalls
Gill Fox
Mort Gerberg
Eddie Germano
Orla Getterman
Archie Goodwin
Larry Harris
Irwin Hasen
John E. Hazlett
Ralph Heimdahl
Harry Hershfield
Erwin Hess
Pete Hoffman
Bill Holman
F. M. Howarth
Bill Howrilla
Karl Hubenthal
Jud Hurd
William A. (Billy) Ireland
Tom Isbell
Ferd Johnson
Lynn Johnston
Jim Jonson
Jim Kammerud
Gil Kane
Walt Kelly
Jack Knox
Phil Krohn
Ed Kudlaty
Ed Kuekes
Charles Kuhn
John Lane
Jim Larrick
Mark Lasky
Jim Lawrence
Sam Leff
Craig Leggett
George Lemont
George Levine
Larry Lewis
Al Liederman
Paule Loring
G. T. Maxwell
Winsor McCay
Tom McCormick
John T. McCutcheon
Jim MacDonald
Edgar E. Martin
Dahl Mikkelsen
Jack Millie
James Molica
Foster Moore
Dick Moores
Arnie Mossler
John Cullen Murphy
Marv Myers
William Nellor
Art Nugent
Murray Olderman
Frank O'Neal
Frederick Burr Opper
Kate Osann
Bernice Bede Osol
Ray Osrin
Bill Overgard
Paul Palnik
Phil Pastoret
Eugene Payne
Lute Pease
Mike Peters
Roy Peterson
Al Plastino
Art Poinier
Bill Potter
Newton Pratt
Milt Priggee
Mario Risso
Nancy Risso
Bill Roberts
Dick Rogers

Cliff Rogerson
John Roman
Harold Russell
Bill Sanders
Art Sansom
Chip Sansom
Leonard Sansone
Jim Scancarelli
Walt Scott
Paul Sellers
Noel Sickles
Jeff Smith
Jeff Stahler
John Stees
Al Stoffel
Ed Sullivan
Mark Szorady
Charles Jay Taylor
Bert Thomas
Carl Tobey
Dick Turner
Leslie Turner
Morrie Turner
Chuck Vadun
Al Vermeer
Dow Walling
Mort Walker
L. D. Warren
Harry Westerman
Charles Werner
Warren Whipple
Leo White
Ned White
Bert Whitman
Gaar Williams
J.R. Williams
Scott Willis
Al Wiseman
Elmer Woggon
Michael Angelo Woolf
Larry Wright
Matt Wuerker

For additional information about the CGA collection, telephone (614) 292-0538. The address is 27 West 17th Avenue Mall, 023L Wexner Center, Columbus, Ohio 43210-1393

The author holds a joint appointment as associate professor of journalism and curator of the CGA collection at The Ohio State University.

INKS: A New Journal for Cartoon and Comic Art Studies

The Ohio State University Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library is the nation's largest and most comprehensive repository of cartoon-related information. Because of its academic affiliation, this library is in a unique position both to stimulate research and disseminate its results. Recently, journalism historians, political scientists, art historians, sociologists and others have begun to examine cartoons and comic art, seeking to understand their development, the role they have played in society, the values and opinions they represent, and the techniques and artistry they embody.

Aside from as occasional article on cartoon art published in an assortment of scholarly journals, researchers have no organized outlet.A publication offering only such articles is lacking. To fill this void, *INKS: Cartoon and Comic Art Studies* will be published three times a year under the aegis of The Ohio State University Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Research Library. The premiere issue is scheduled for winter 1994.

The purpose of the journal is to advance knowledge about cartooning. In addition to contributed articles, the journal will include several features such as book and exhibition reviews, a column describing cartoon-related historic sites and collections, a bibliography of currently publshed materials, and essays describing cartoon-related research facilities.

INKS will strive to be the premier journal in its field as well as a forum for new concepts and debate. Scholarly articles will form the core of *INKS*, and the editors look for pieces under two broad categories: historical and analytical. Plans call for the journal to be indexed in the *MLA International Bibliography* published by the Modern Language Association. A goal of the publication is to stimulate broad-based appreciation for cartooning.

Lucy Shelton Caswell, associate professor and curator of the Ohio State University Cartoon, Graphic, and Photographic Arts Research Library, will be editor of *INKS*. Each genre of cartoon art will be the responsibility of a separate associate editor. Richard Samuel West, editor of *Target, the Political Cartoon Quarterly*, is political cartoon editor. M. Thomas Inge, author of *Comics as Culture*, is comic books editor. R.C. Harvey, editor of *Cartoons of the Roaring Twenties* is comic strips editor. Shelley Armitage, author of *John Held, Jr., Illustrator of the Jazz Age*, is a magazine cartoons editor. Each article submitted is evaluated by the editor and at least two members of the editorial board. Guidelines for authors are available by calling (614) 292-0538. Prof. Caswell's mailing address is the same as the CGA Collection (see preceding article).

Hemingway as Negligent Reporter: *New Masses* and the 1935 Florida Hurricane

by S. L. Harrison

Ernest Hemingway was fond of reminiscing about his days as a newspaper reporter, but his reputation as journalist is suspect. This article examines his well crafted but poorly researched story written on assignment for the pro-Communist journal, New Masses, *after a hurricane ripped through the Florida Keys.*

Despite acclaim as one of twentieth-century America's foremost novelists, Ernest Hemingway never forgot his newspaper beginnings. A notorious self-promoter, Hemingway often referred to that brief portion of his career with pride and exaggerated accomplishment.[1] Consequently, a mythic legend of Hemingway as intrepid reporter lingers. Although Hemingway began his career writing for newspapers, and worked for several, he was not a good newsman; his reporting was suspect. He lost several jobs because of his journalistic failings. Unquestionably an excellent writer, Hemingway was deficient as a reporter. One episode in particular – his coverage of the 1935 Florida hurricane – reflects his careless discipline as reporter.

Hemingway bragged about his early beginnings as a cub reporter in 1917 with the *Kansas City Star*.[2] He seldom noted, however, that despite slim credentials, he was taken aboard largely through family influence and because the staff was depleted by the departure of experienced men for military service. Nor did he often mention that this brief apprenticeship lasted only six months.[3]

After serving as a volunteer ambulance driver in Italy, Hemingway returned to newspaper work. Again, influence through family friends helped Hemingway land a job, this time with *The Toronto Star*, where the staff was impressed by highly inflated accounts of his Kansas City experience. Hyperbole was a lifelong Hemingway trait; he was "a romantic liar for whom the line between fact and fiction was thinner than a hair."[4] This quality aided his Toronto

1. Ernest Hemingway, "Old Newsman Writes," *Esquire*, Dec. 1934, 25-26.
2. Kenneth Lynn, *Hemingway* (New York: Fawcett, 1987), 68.
3. Carlos Baker, *Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969), 56.
4. Ibid., viii.

human-interest stories, modeled after his early writing hero, Ring Lardner.[5] Like H.L. Mencken's "A Girl from Red Lion," and Mark Twain's "Jumping Frog," Hemingway's work includes a fair amount of "stretchers" to spice up a story. But this kind of newspaper fare is feature writing, not factual reporting. Later, Hemingway was fired from the *Toronto Star* for inadequate reporting, not for poor writing.[6] Later in life, after he gained fame as a novelist, his reporting was still not up to standard. It has been described as "much more like fiction than would be a straight news story."[7] Apologists for Hemingway's reporting deficiencies suggest that perhaps he could be viewed as an early manifestation of the "New Journalism," as exemplified by Tom Wolfe.[8] Hemingway might well be termed a forerunner of the "literary journalist"– Hunter Thompson, Norman Mailer, Truman Capote – but it is a term that begs journalism and literary values. As a news reporter, in his time, Hemingway's work failed the basic tests of accuracy and timeliness.[9]

Hemingway's reporting was much more creative than factual. An assignment to cover the Genoa Economic Conference in 1922 was deemed "inadequate" by his editors and led to dismissal.[10] During the Spanish Civil War, his dispatches, colorful and creative, lacked facts and lagged behind those of the opposition (on which he may well have based his work), particularly the *New York Times*. He was also fired by the North American Newspaper Alliance after he was guilty in several instances of filing stories about events at which he was not present.[11]

In 1935, Hemingway was living in Key West, enjoying the critical and commercial success of his novels and writing occasional magazine articles. He was working on his newest book and indulging from time to time in deep-sea fishing aboard his black, 40-foot yacht *Pilar*. The country was mired in the economic hardships of the Great Depression. The adventure of the Great War was over; the jazz era had faded and harsh realities of unemployment, hunger, and homelessness confronted millions of Americans. Many writers and intellectuals sought explanations or solutions for the nation's financial crisis. But Hemingway's writings displayed little public concern for these issues.[12] The rough handling of the so-called "bonus army" that marched on Washington and was fired on by the Army may have angered Hemingway, but not enough to write about that abuse. President Herbert Hoover allowed the camps on Anacostia Flats to be burned by police and the U.S. Army — under command of General Douglas MacArthur assisted by Dwight D. Eisenhower — brought in tanks, led by Major George S. Patton, and lives were lost.[13]

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5. Charles A. Fenton, *The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway* (New York: Viking Press, 1954), 28-49.
6. *Miami Herald*, 2 March 1992, A9.
7. J.F. Kobler, *Ernest Hemingway: Journalist and Artist* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985), 3.
8. Sarah R. Shaber, "Hemingway's Literary Journalism: The Spanish Civil War Dispatches," *Journalism Quarterly* 57(Autumn 1980): 420-424, 535.
9. Philip Knightly, *The First Casualty: From Crimea to Vietnam, The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth-maker* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1975), 213.
10. Lynn, *Hemingway*, 174-175.
11. Ibid.
12. Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 309.
13. William Manchester, *American Caesar* (New York: Dell, 1951), 164-166.

Publicly, Hemingway took little notice of Hoover's failed programs or the efforts of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal to solve the nation's economic troubles. Hemingway disliked Roosevelt and his policies, as a matter of fact. In Key West, he and poet Robert Frost engaged in heated discussion on FDR's efforts to restore America's economy.[14]

The leftist, Communist-supported magazine *New Masses* provided a continuing voice of protest, however, with regular and relentless attacks on FDR and his policies. A member of the staff from that era, Stanley Burnshaw, poet and author, recalls that many of America's liberal writers lent their voice to the *New Masses*, but not Hemingway.[15] Hemingway avoided the camp of the writers of the left, who were "variously baffled, angry and scornful" over his refusal to enter their ranks.[16] Hemingway, who professed an ignorance of economics, said that "all the state has ever meant to me is unjust taxation....I believe in the absolute minimum of government."[17] Hemingway, secure in Key West, was content to let others muddle toward solutions.

Saturday evening before Labor Day 1935, Hemingway relaxed with a drink after his writing chores. The Key West paper reported a tropical storm somewhere off the Bahamas and he made certain that *Pilar* was securely berthed.[18] The weather forecast held no prediction of a hurricane for the Florida Keys. Labor Day weekend was uneventful. Key West experienced only heavy rains, with winds of 45 knots. Tuesday's local paper reported a few downed trees (one in Hemingway's front yard), but no real damage.[19] That same Tuesday after Labor Day Miami's press reported that a "mild" tropical disturbance was expected to "pass west of the city" by mid-day.[20] Also on Tuesday, the *New York Times*, in an Associated Press report, noted that "a small disturbance" was expected to threaten Miami and Palm Beach as the storm moved northwest.[21] In fact, a massive hurricane – the most powerful in recorded history – had already swept through Florida's Middle Keys in the early hours of Labor Day, unknown to residents of remote Key West or Miami to the east.

By Wednesday, the *Key West Citizen* headlined "Great Loss of Life" in the Middle Keys.[22] The next day in an Associated Press dispatch the *Citizen* reported that the loss of life from the hurricane "may reach thousands."[23] Where the Key West paper got that figure is a mystery. The Associated Press story in the *New York Times* reported the death toll as 100.[24] Hemingway's friends in the North worried about his safety, but it was not until two days later that communication by Western Union telegraph via Punta Rasa and Fort Myers to Key West was established.[25] Loss of life was feared from winds as well as flood waters over the low-lying islands. In those days the Keys had few permanent

14. Stanley Burnshaw, *Robert Frost Himself* (New York: Braziller, 1968), 33.
15. Stanley Burnshaw, interviews with the author, 26 June 1989- 6 August 1990.
16. Baker, *Ernest Hemingway*, 276.
17. Ibid., 277.
18. Ernest Hemingway, "Who Murdered the Vets?," 16 *New Masses*, 17 Sept. 17, 1935, 9-10.
19. *Key West Citizen*, 3 Sept. 1935, 1.
20. *Miami Herald*, 3 Sept. 1935, 1.
21. *New York Times*, 3 Sept. 1935, 1.
22. *Key West Citizen*, 4 Sept. 1935, 1.
23. *Key West Citizen*, 5 Sept. 1935, 1.
24. *New York Times*, 4 Sept. 1935, 1.
25. James McLendon, *Papa: Hemingway on Key West*(New York: E. A. Seamann, 1972), 136-139.

residents, but concern was expressed for the safety of workers in several government work camps. The *Miami Herald* reported 540 workers were to be evacuated north to safety; the *New York Times* said 700.[26]

One of FDR's New Deal programs had created jobs for the veterans of the "bonus army." Under auspices of Harry Hopkins' Federal Emergency Reconstruction Administration, several hundred of the bonus army veterans were put to work building a highway in the Keys under a state program funded with federal money.[27] The bonus march veterans were feared to be victims of the storm that had struck in the midst of their work places.

Joseph North, editor of the *New Masses*, sensed the political implications of this story. Burnshaw, a former colleague, says that "while no formal titles existed on the magazine in the true spirit of Communist ideology, North ran things," and was the "political watch-dog" of the magazine, who made certain that copy conformed to the Communist line.[28] As soon as communication was established with the mainland, North, played a hunch that Hemingway would do the story, wired him to look into it for an on-the-scene report on the fate of the veterans.[29]

Precisely why Hemingway took on the assignment is unknown. Clearly an anti-fascist, Hemingway was no Communist. While the *New Masses* was outspokenly anti-fascist, it was also publicly pro-Communist.[30] Moreover, Hemingway openly disliked *New Masses* and some of its staff, particularly after a critical book review.[31] Several reasons may be suggested. North's invitation enabled Hemingway to visit the scene of the disaster with press credentials as a working reporter. Also, Hemingway was short of money.[32] The *New Masses* piece promised quick, ready cash. After more than fifty years, Burnshaw recalls the sum as "perhaps $200," equal to approximately $2,000 in today's economy.[33]

Perhaps most important, Hemingway disliked government in general and Roosevelt in particular.[34] His predisposition was to blame Roosevelt and Hopkins for the nation's ills. With no proof whatsoever, he wrote his editor, Maxwell Perkins, that FDR and Hopkins "who sent those poor bonus march guys down there to get rid of them got rid of them all right."[35] The disaster provided opportunity for North and Hemingway to join forces against a common opponent, President Franklin Roosevelt.

All of these factors helped motivate Hemingway to undertake a news assignment with a slant. North, with a political ax to grind, saw another opportunity to attack the Administration through a willing accomplice whose by-line would bring attention to *New Masses*. Before any details of the disaster

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26. *Miami Herald*, 3 Sept. 1935, 1; *New York Times*, 3 Sept. 1935,1.
27. Richard Morris ed., *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), 342.
28. Burnshaw interview, 26 June 1989.
29. Lynn, *Hemingway*, 354.
30. Letter from Burnshaw to the author, 25 Aug. 1990.
31. Baker, *Ernest Hemingway*, 279.
32. Gregory Hemingway, *Papa: A Personal Memoir* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 37.
33. Burnshaw interview, 18 April 1990.
34. Burnshaw, *Frost*, 33.
35. Ernest Hemingway, *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters, 1917-1961*, Carlos Baker, ed.(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 422.

were known, Hemingway's bias against government promised a less than even-handed approach. By September 5, four days after the hurricane hit, Hemingway was on assignment to cover one of the biggest news stories in years: Florida's worst hurricane since 1926 and the most powerful ever recorded to hit North America. The 1935 hurricane was a Category 5 and none has ever approached its recorded 165 miles-per-hour winds, with the exception of Hurricane Andrew, on August 24, 1992.[36]

Initially, the news accounts centered on the fate of the cruise ship *Dixie* that grounded on Craysfort Reef, but reports of the damage in the Keys finally filtered in.[37] For the most part, the nation's press carried wire service stories. Roosevelt dispatched federal military assistance to the area on Tuesday to augment Florida's National Guard.[38]

Reports of the death count varied. Headlines in Thursday's *Times* described 200 deaths, 181 of whom were veterans working on the Keys project.[39] The next day, the *Miami Herald* reported a death toll of 115, including six veterans, with many missing.[40] Hemingway wrote that the Red Cross "steadily played down the number" of deaths, beginning with 46 and increasing to 446 by September 7. But, said Hemingway, "the number of veterans dead and missing alone numbers 442."[41] Where Hemingway got these figures is a mystery. The *Times* quotes Red Cross official estimates as 270 to 300.[42] The *Miami Herald* cites the same information from the same source.[43] Even after he returned to Key West, Hemingway still was under the impression that between "700 and 1,000" veterans perished.[44] The roster of the 716 veterans was available on the scene in Matecumbe, where Hemingway was reporting; he never did account for the actual number of veterans involved in the three work camps.[45]

Devastation was staggering. Wind and water had stripped the land. In addition to the wind, an 18-foot surge of water inundated the Middle Keys.[46] Bodies littered the shorelines and were entangled in branches of the few trees that remained standing: bodies were buried in the dunes and floating in off-shore waters. Hemingway wrote of the bodies on Matecumbe:

> You could find them face down and face up in the mangroves. The biggest bunch of the dead were in the tangled, always green but now brown, mangroves behind the tank cars and the water towers. They hung on there, in shelter, until the wind and the rising water carried them away....further on you

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36. National Hurricane Center, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Coral Gables, Fla., quoted in *Miami Herald*, 5 Sept. 1992, E1.
37. *New York Times*, 4 Sept. 1935, 1. No lives were lost aboard the ship.
38. Ibid.
39. *New York Times*, 5 Sept. 5, 1935, 1. The death listing, page 6, identified four veterans and ten others.
40. *Miami Herald*, 6 September, 1935, 8.
41. Ernest Hemingway, *New Masses*, 9.
42. *New York Times*, 6 Sept. 1935, 1.
43. *Miami Herald*, 6 Sept. 1935, 8.
44. Ernest Hemingway, *Letters*, 421.
45. *Miami Herald*, 6 Sept. 1935, 8.
46. Barometric pressure was 26.35, the lowest ever recorded, and the eye of the storm was only ten miles in diameter, accounting for the narrow swath. Stuart B. McIver, *Hemingway's Key West* (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 1993), 71.

> found them high in the trees where the water had swept them.[47]

His graphic word picture repeated only what the newspaper photographs showed.. Some photos, not published, show even more graphic detail.[48] Still, Hemingway wrote a eulogy for the veterans who died without heroics.

Hemingway, despite his concern for the fate of the veterans, was callous toward other possible victims: "It is not necessary to go into the deaths of the civilians [sic] and their families since they were there of their own free will....[and] knew the hazards involved."[49] In reality, the residents of the Middle Keys were ignorant of the approaching storm and had no idea of the intensity of the "weather disturbance" and no inkling that a hurricane was imminent in their part of Florida.[50]

Hemingway held the belief that the veterans were not "civilians," evidently confusing the FERA program with the better-known Civilian Conservation Corps, which had a quasi-military status, but even the men in the CCC program were civilians.[51] Perhaps this usage can be excused; without exception, all written accounts referred to victims as "civilian" or "veteran." It was another factual lapse for newsman Hemingway, however.

Hemingway devoted the greater portion of his story to graphic descriptions of the bodies, comparing the irony of death in the dunes to death on the battlefield. His writing was colorful and emotional:

> When we reached Lower Matecumbe there were bodies floating in the ferry slip. The brush was all brown as though autumn had come to these islands where there is no autumn but only a more dangerous summer, but that was because the leaves had all blown away. There was two feet of sand over the highest part of the island where the sea had carried it and all the heavy bridge-building machines were on their sides. The island looked like the abandoned bed of a river where the sea had swept in.[52]

Repeatedly, Hemingway asked: "Why did these men die? Who was responsible?" Why were not the weather advisories more precise in predicting the path of the storm?[53] Hemingway wanted someone to blame, especially the Administration, and the Weather Bureau was a good target.

Fifty years ago, the Weather Bureau was unable to make the precise predictions that Hemingway expected. Fifty years later, with weather satellites, radar and aircraft, it cannot do so. For example, when Andrew, tracked for a week as a tropical storm, approached South Florida in August, 1992, residents were

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47. Hemingway, *New Masses*, 10.
48. Archives of the Monroe County, Key West May Hill Russell Library , Local and State History Department. Interview with Tom Hambright, Director, 6 July 1991.
49. Hemingway, *New Masses*, 9.
50. Interview by the author with a survivor of the 1935 hurricane. He rode out the storm on a brass bed with his brothers and sisters. Richard Parker, 14 August 1990.
51. At least two of his biographers – Lynn, *Hemingway*, and Baker, *Ernest Hemingway* – perpetuate this mistake; the veterans were not in CCC camps.
52. Hemingway, *New Masses*, 9.
53. Ibid.

given a 24-hour hurricane warning. It encompassed a stretch of Florida covering 600 miles, from Fort Pierce to Miami, where the storm might land. Only at midnight August 24 were residents told it would hit Miami at 6:30 a.m.[54] Andrew's landfall was 4:30 a.m., south of Miami.

Although Hemingway's 2,800-word piece was billed by the *New Masses* as a "first-hand report on the Florida Hurricane," it was essentially an editorial that echoed the magazine's political view that someone in Washington was at fault,[55] a polemic of rage and frustration.[56] He asked, "Who sent nearly a thousand war veterans...to live in frame shacks on the Florida Keys in hurricane months?" And, "Who sent them down there?"[57] The outrage of injustice and "some fundamental wrongness at the heart of things" is the essence of Hemingway's dispatches as a hurricane disaster reporter.[58] Hemingway neither answered the questions he posed nor apparently seriously sought to find out. If his reports roused the reader's emotions, they nonetheless lacked fact and detail of the specifics he questioned.

To be sure, everyone was confused initially. But by Friday, when Hemingway arrived on the scene, help had mobilized. Cleanup was underway by federal troops and Florida's national guardsmen, victims had been hospitalized, and rosters examined for the missing. Facts were available that Hemingway simply missed or ignored. Specific, accurate details were reported in the nation's newspapers, as well as *Time* and *Newsweek*.[59]

The following facts were known by the time of Hemingway's visit to the storm site.

•Many veterans died, but not the 442 that Hemingway reported to *New Masses*, nor the 700-1,000 he described to Maxwell Perkins on Sunday after he returned to Key West. Total deaths, veterans and residents, did not exceed 400.

•Less than 1,000 veterans were in the camps. Three work camps--on Windley Key, and Upper and Lower Matecumbe Keys--housed 700, including administration and support officials;

•The veterans' work camps were under FERA jurisdiction and state-operated, not the CCC, a federal project.

•Accommodations were primitive, but the men were not living in "shacks." Administration buildings and mess halls were wooden structures with concrete foundations; a few men, waiting for more permanent quarters, were in tents.

•Hemingway asked, "Who sent them?" One answer is a program that provided work. He implies some kind of criminal motive in working through the hurricane season. If the rich vacationers and politicians, as Hemingway mentioned, fled Florida during the hurricane months, residents lived and worked year round. The veterans, with jobs and a steady income in Florida, had reason to stay during the hurricane months.

•Hemingway belabored the point that somehow the Weather Bureau should have known when and where the hurricane would strike. The Weather

54. Midnight news report, WTVJ-TV, Miami.
55. Unsigned editorial [written by North], "Who Murdered the Vets?," *New Masses*, 17 Sept. 1935, 3.
56. Robert O. Stephens, *Hemingway's Nonfiction: The Public Voice* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1989), 133-134.
57. Ernest Hemingway, *New Masses*, 10.
58. Alfred Kazin, "Hemingway, the Painter," *New Republic*, 19 March 1977, 22.
59. *Time*, 16 Sept. 1935, 14-15 and *Newsweek*, 16 Sept. 1935, 12-14.

Bureau's main office, in Jacksonville, some 400-plus miles north of Miami and the Keys, relayed reports of the whereabouts of the storm and its landfall about as precisely as possible for that era.

•Officials did plan rail evacuation of the workers. A relief train was ready noon Monday. Orders to move the train came too late, however.[60] Hemingway fails to answer his own question: "Who advised against sending the relief train to evacuate the veterans until four-thirty o'clock on Monday...?" As an on-the-scene reporter, this is a fact he could have established. No one knew when the hurricane would hit, or where, or how intense it really was. Hemingway himself writes that his last check on the progress of the reported tropical storm on the Saturday before it hit disclosed no predictions of a massive blow.

Florida Governor Dave Sholtz — who actually sent the vets to work — is quoted by several sources available to Hemingway as saying that there was "great carelessness somewhere."[61] On-the-scene reporter Hemingway lacked any substantive quotes to provide answers to his emotional questions.

Later, President Roosevelt turned the entire affair over to the Congress for investigation. Rep. John Rankin (D-Miss.) chaired the House Committee on War Veterans Legislation and issued a report a year later.[62] The report confirmed that of 716 veterans involved, 121 died in the storm (along with 279 residents) and concluded that weather reports gave adequate warning. The question of why the relief train was delayed until midday Monday was attributed to "incompetence" with no named individual or agency held responsible.

Hemingway's reporting and writing didn't deliver a news story. His article contained color and drama, but it was an accusation lacking substance. *New Masses* had published hard-hitting, well-investigated articles.[63] But Hemingway's story suited North's purpose. If Hemingway's copy lacked facts, it raised political charges to hector FDR. *New Masses*, a magazine with clear propaganda goals, had a specific point of view. Hemingway was angered when North changed his submitted title, "Who Killed These Men?" to a more inflamatory, "Who Murdered the Vets?"[64] No other editorial changes were made to his copy, Burnshaw recalled, and he was present when Hemingway's collect night letter arrived Sunday at the *New Masses* and became the cover banner.[65] Hemingway should not have been surprised; he knew the people and the journal he was writing for. Moreover, Hemingway's report, with heavy political overtones, contained clear implications of manslaughter, if not murder. He wrote a political tract that delighted the *New Masses* editors and North. It was the propaganda they sought, an emotional diatribe to embarrass FDR's Administration.

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60. One train was dispatched Sunday but turned back; a second train was blown off the rails. Interview, Richard Parker.

61. *Newsweek*, ibid.

62. House of Representatives, U. S. Congress. *Florida Hurricane Disaster: Hearings Before the Committee on War Veterans Legislation*. 74th Cong. 2d Sess. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936).

63. Stanley Burnshaw, *A Stanley Burnshaw Reader* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990).

64. Baker, *Ernest Hemingway*, 615.

65. Burnshaw's duties included design and layout for the cover; Burnshaw interview, 18 April 1990.

Even if Hemingway's sense of accuracy and fairness deserted him, he always told a good story. A blend of reality and invention is an excellent quality for a novelist, not so for a reliable reporter. Hemingway's stirring account of the aftermath of the 1935 hurricane lacked documentation. It was not a news story, not "truly," as he once warned of reporters who

> have a romantic view of life. And almost all reporters are inaccurate. Have you ever noticed when you read something in the papers you truly know about that ninety percent of it is inaccurate? A lot of mistakes have to do with early deadlines, of course, the need to get something down in a hurry for the afternoon or morning editions. Often, there's just no time to check the accuracy of your sources, I know — I started out as a reporter for the *Kansas City Star*. But some of it comes from the reporter's conceit and the contempt for a reader's intelligence that only a truly conceited reporter can have. And a lot comes from laziness, or, to be more accurate, from fatigue.[66]

The reader may interpolate what qualities apply to Hemingway's own reporting of the 1935 hurricane. Before this incident, Hemingway demonstrated little concern for his "brother" veterans. Nor did he play any role subsequent to the disaster or provide assistance for its victims, living or dead.

Hemingway was not a good reporter. His *New Masses* piece began with a bias shared by the editors and the writer. The report lacked in-depth investigation, substantiated facts, and supporting details. The result was an emotional diatribe without substantive support. Hemingway was ambivalent toward journalism: "Newspaper work will not harm a young writer and could help him if he gets out of it in time."[67]

Hemingway, a novelist of excellence and one of America's best, served brief apprenticeship with little distinction in the newsroom. Hemingway the artist endures with no need for the manufactured myth of Hemingway, the newsman.

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66. Gregory Hemingway, *Papa*, 38.
67. Stephens, *Hemingway's Nonfiction*, 4.

Realities and Possibilities: the Lives of Women in Periodicals of the New Republic

by Karen K. List

This article presents the way in which the realities and possibilities of American women were portrayed in Philadelphia newspapers and magazines during the post-Revolutionary period. That portrayal, the author argues, ignored the lives that women led, condemned and trivialized their relationships with one another and assigned them to a narrow, male-defined social construct called "women's sphere."

Margaret Markoe Bache, after seven years of marriage to opposition newspaper editor Benjamin Franklin Bache, gave birth to her fourth child, a boy, in the early morning hours of Sept. 3, 1798. Two days later she was nursing her husband as he lay dying of yellow fever in their home in Philadelphia. A French doctor had prescribed baths for Bache's fever, but the tub leaked and water stood on the floor. [1]

Margaret's life with Bache had not been easy. The daughter of a wealthy St. Croix planter, she had stood by her husband, despite pressure from her family to leave him, as his office was attacked by those who abhorred his strident opposition to the Federalists and when he was threatened in the streets for his newspaper's defense of Democratic-Republican principles.[2] Elizabeth Hewson, the woman Bache's grandfather Benjamin Franklin had hoped he would marry, wrote to her brother: "I have staid with Mrs B. Bache since I have been in town. She has frequently asked me. Poor woman, her old acquaintance have almost all deserted her. She is luckily of opinion that her husband is quite in the right. . ."[3]

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1. Jeffrey L Smith, *Franklin & Bache: Envisioning the Enlightened Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press), 163.

2 . Shortly after her marriage, she wrote to her sister Elizabeth Markoe, "But, Betsey, why do you accuse me of want of taste & alluding to my choice." Undated rough draft, probably December 1791, Bache Papers--Castle Collection, American Philosophical Society Philadelphia, Pa.

3. Elizabeth Hewson to Thomas Hewson, 5 June 1797, quoted in Smith, 147. See also Bernard Fay, *The two Franklins* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1933).

In Bache's absence, Margaret had helped produce the *Aurora*, writing to him on the Fourth of July, 1795:

> Many of the Printers did not print this day, but it was thought best that your Paper should appear as there had already been one missing this week. . . Mr. Foster wished a holiday but Dr. L & all of us thought it would not do - You can have no ideahow angry everybody was that there was no paper of Thursday. We were obliged to say there was an accident happened to the Press.[4]

She had asked that Bache come home as soon as possible: "I am much afraid the fatigue will be too much for you." But by the fifteenth, she had written: "Make haste Home for god sake my spirits are quite gone."[5]

On Sept. 10, Bache died at the age of twenty-nine. One hour after his death, Margaret published a public notice, describing him as "a man inflexible in virture, unappalled by power or persecution" and announcing the temporary suspension of the *Aurora*. She published the first issue under her own name on Nov. 1, saying that her love for her husband required her to honor him by continuing the paper "with inflexible fidelity to the principles upon which it was founded."[6] When she was attacked as "lucious Mrs. Bache" and "Mother Bache" by her husband's archrival William Cobbett, the paper pleaded her case as "a woman, and a widow" and later "a feeble woman."[7]

The *Aurora*, published under Margaret Bache's name, continued to be the nation's primary conveyor of Enlightenment and Jeffersonian Republican ideology and its visions of a free and equitable society.[8] But she and her female contemporaries were excluded from this spirit of liberation and from the promise of the Revolution generally. That was made abundantly clear by the *Aurora* itself and by other newspapers and magazines published in Philadelphia in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The purpose of this essay is to reflect on how these new republic periodicals interpreted the lives of women. Based on their content, how did they portray women's realities and possibilities? Did they reflect, distort and/or prescribe women's lives?

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4. Margaret wrote: "I was mortified that the Aurora did not serve in its fullest glory on this day (there was but half a paper printed)...Mr.T is reading the proofs for Monday's paper it will be a very full one." Margaret Bache to Benjamin Franklin Bache, 4 July, 1795, Ibid. Margaret had written two days earlier that she was "astonished to see the number of persons that were here for the days papers..." 2 July 1795, Ibid.

5. Margaret Bache to Benjamin Franklin Bache, 4 and 15 July 1795, Ibid. On the 15th, she ended her letter: "The children are well I cannot write anymore My heart is full."

6. The public notice was reprinted in another Boston newspaper, the *Independent Chronicle*, on 17 Sept. 1798. She also urged subscribers to pay their arrears because of the calamity the family had suffered. See the *Aurora*, 1 Nov. 1798; Fay, and Donald Stewart, *The Opposition Press of The Federalist Period* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1969).

7. *Porcupine's Gazette*, 6 Nov. 1798, and the *Aurora*, 5 and 8 Nov. 1798.

8. "Being created equal and having an inalienable right to pursue happiness" were considered "simply natural self-evident truths," Smith (3) writes.

The reality was that the American Revolution brought no revolutionary change to the lives of women in the new republic. In fact, it might have been considered a step backward.[9]

Women had, after all, been expected and encouraged to participate in the Revolution as providers of services for troops; sources of food, shelter, money and supplies; and enforcers of boycotts. To accomplish these tasks, they worked individually and together. When merchants over-charged women for food or other household goods, they commonly joined or led riots to seize the products their families needed, and they organized in quieter ways as well. In 1780, for example, women in Philadelphia proposed creating a national organization to raise money for the troops. When General George Washington refused to allow the money to go directly to the soldiers, as the women stipulated, they bought linen and made shirts instead, agreeing that shirts, unlike cash, could not be mis-used.[10] The Revolution had brought women into public life, broadened their interests, helped them develop organizing skills and accustomed society to their heightened level of participation.[11]

In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* appeared in Philadelphia bookstores. While Wollstonecraft argued that the political and social tyranny of men must be broken and the principles of democracy extended to women, the reality for most women in the 1790s was quite different: "Indeed every statement of republican principles implicitly assumed that women were exceptions."[12] Their right to hold property was restricted, they could not vote and they most often did not have the opportunity to pursue an education. They generally married at sixteen, became pregnant within twelve months, had children every two years through their forties and often had dependent children at home at their deaths. They lost their looks and health by twenty-five.[13]

It is clear from this author's earlier research that the tension between republican rhetoric and women's reality was resolved by new republic periodicals through promulgation of the ideal of "republican motherhood." The publications also referred to this concept as "women's sphere," "women's place," "women's station," "women's department," "women's post" or the "cult of domesticity."[14] Whatever its designation, women were to exercise their role as

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9. Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 46-53.

10. Each woman inscribed the shirts she made with her name, "to emphasize their personal gesture of support and solidarity as well as their intention to contribute on their own terms." Evans, 50.

11. In addition, women also assumed a broader range of responsibilities on the homefront and generally were engaged in all of the occupations entered by men. Linda DePauw and Conover Hunt, *Remember the Ladies* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 61-2,98,127-8,139.

12. Evans, 55. See also Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 20; Terri Premo, *Winter Friends: Women Growing Old in the New Republic, 1785-1835* (Urbana, Il.: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 179.

13. Most women had five to ten pregnancies with three to eight surviving children. DePauw and Hunt, 61; Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: the Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980), 71-2; Ann Jones, *Women Who Kill* (New York: Fawcett Columbine Books, 1980), 63-70.

14. Karen K. List, "The Post-Revolutionary Woman Idealized: Philadelphia Media's 'Republican Mother'," *Journalism Quarterly* 66(Spring 1989): 65-75.

citizens in the new republic at home by influencing their husbands and sons, who then would move into the public arena. In this way, domesticity was endowed with significance: the personal was made political.

This essay explores the notion that how periodicals depicted this private/quasi-public sphere is instrumental to any understanding of how women's role in the new republic was conceptualized. Discussion of women's sphere, for example, could have entailed reflection of women's culture as it developed at this time--women embracing shared lives with other women, working in a broad context to further their contributions as citizens and taking satisfaction in those contributions. This interpretation would see women's sphere as an ideology that women themselves took part in crafting and that they valued as they combined traditional duties with civic responsiblity. On the other hand, women's sphere could have been a social construction, a narrow place where women were confined physically and psychologically, a place where their contributions were streotyped and minimized. This interpretation would see women's sphere as an ideology imposed by men, with boundaries whose creation and maintenance would require questions of power and governance.[15]

The answer to how the periodicals conceptualized women's sphere should not be considered obvious. The Revolution did shake old assumptions and suggest new possibilities, and several historians have argued that new republic periodicals were part of a dialogue on women's role that grew more radical as the eighteenth century drew to a close. Mary Beth Norton has argued that these publications were "in the forefront of the new approach to women" and that "[t]he pages of these journals constituted the single most important public forum for the voicing of radical opinions on women's status and role."[16] In addition, questions raised here about women were raised in the 1790s in relation to slavery, and it is possible that some of that thinking might have spilled over.[17]

Three political party newspapers[18] and fifteen magazines[19], all published in the last decade of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia, were

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15. For elucidation of these different interpretations, see Kerber, who also discusses inherited role definitions; Carol Berkin, "Clio in search of her daughers/women in search of their past," *Liberal Education*, 71 (1985): 205-15; and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Politics and Culture in Women's History," *Feminist Studies* 6 (1985): 55-64.

16. Norton, 246-7. Evans (63) also said, "the more egalitarian voice...rang eloquently" in the pages of the periodicals. The dialogue encompassed the view that Nancy Cott has called "egalitarian feminism," the idea that women were individuals who had the right to develop their intellects for their own sake. See Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New Engalnd, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 202. See also Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate:Origins of American Feminism* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), 57-8, 165.

17. In relation to class as well as race, people like Bache were aware that "[w]ealthy white men...were shaping the nation for their own power and benefit." Smith, 132, as well as 96,145. See also Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Rovolution* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967), 232-46, and Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930), 57-8, 165.

18. The newpapers studied were the Federalist *Gazette of the United States* (1789), edited by John Fenno; the Federalist *Porcupine's Gazette* (1797), edited by Cobbett; and the Republican *Aurora* (1790), edited by Bache. The *Gazette*, the official newspaper of the federal government, was read from 1789-1791, years when adoption of the Bill of Rights was debated. *Porcupine's Gazette*, the most popular newspaper of the decade, was read from 1797-1799, years which represent the life of the paper. The *Aurora*, the leading

studied. The 1790s was a critical decade in terms of shaping the new republican experiment, and Philadelphia, seat of the new federal and state governments with a population approaching 50,000, was considered the most enlightened city in America. It should have been the place most likely to espouse advanced views on women's role.[20]

The publications themselves were studied as products, with the newspapers read for two-year periods and the magazines in their entirety. Findings are based on persistent themes that emerged across the publications and are limited to discussing messages sent. The essay does not speculate about motivations of those who sent the messages or the effect, if any, on those who received them. It is useful to remember that the messages sent were generally about literate middle and upper class white women[21] and that they reveal what male editors thought people should read about women. But just as study of women as actors in their own right is essential, so is a clear understanding of the atmosphere in which they acted, an atmosphere created in part by the periodicals. These publications were the most popular source available for information and opinions on politics and other pressing questions of the day, the primary means of presenting information for public approval. Studying these

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opposition paper, was read for the same period, since its competition with *Porcupine's Gazette* represented the high point of press party rivalry. See Edwin and Michael Emery, *The Press and America* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1984), Ch.7. Previous research by this author looked at the latter two papers to determine what message they sent about women's political role in the new republic. See List, "Two Party Papers' Political Coverage of Women in the New Republic," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2 (June 1985): 152-165.

19. The fifteen Philadelphia magazines studied were: *The American Monthly Review* (January 1787-December1795); *The American Museum* (January 1787-December 1792); *The American Universal Magazine* (January 1797-March 1798); *The Arminian Magazine* (January 1789-December 1790); *The Columbian Museum* (January 1793); *The Dessert to the True American* (July 1798-August1799); *The Ladies Magazine* (June 1792-May 1793); *The Literary Miscellany* (1795); *The Literary Museum* (January-June 1797); *The Methodist Magazine* (January 1797-August1798); *The Philadelphia Magazine and Review* (January-June 1799); *The Philadelphia Minerva* (February 1795-July 1798); *Thespian Oracle* (January 1798); and *The Weekly Magazine* (February 1798-May 1799). In previous research, the author looked at three magazines, *American Magazine* published in New York, and two of the above, *Ladies Magazine* and the *Weekly Magazine*, to determine what they said about women's role generally. See List, "Magazine Portrayals of Women's Role in the New Republic," *Journalism History* 13: (Summer 1986) : 64-70.

20. Philadelphia was home to the American Philosophical Society; the first antislavery societies; a fluorishing theater; Peale's Museum, with its displays of waxworks, painting and scientific curiosities; and Gray's tavern, with the most elaborate landscape gardens in the country. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Witch and We the People," *American Heritage*, 34:5 (1983): 6-7. See also J.T. Scharf and T. Westcott, *History of Phladelphia* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1884); Benjamin Davies, *Some Account of the City of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Richard Folwell, 1794); and Gary B. Nash and Billy G. Smith, "The Population of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvannia Magazine of History and Biography*, 99 (July 1975): 362-68.

21. The gap between rich and poor in Philadelphia was growing wider. More than half the families owned no property, and one third lived at the subsistance level. For a discussion of the literary gap between American men and women, see Kennth Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), pp. 38-44, and Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p.222.

earliest messages on women's role in the republic should add to understanding today's commentary on portrayal of women in the media.[22]

This essay will proceed by discussing the eighteen periodicals in question as products of their time and the context for their discussion of women; women's culture and public life in the 1790s and the periodicals' messages on women's relationships and women's sphere. The essay will conclude by arguing that the message sent by these periodicals on women's culture had little if any relationship to what the average, middle-to-upper-class white woman in the new republic perceived as her experience and that the message sent on women's sphere narrowed the possibilities of where and how that average woman could conduct a public life.

One result of the Revolution was that more people in America--men and women--read newspapers and magazines. "It is a happy revolution in the history of the fair sex that they are now in general readers, and what is better, thinkers too," *Ladies Magazine* noted in 1793.[23] Philadelphia by 1794 had eight newspapers, and fifteen magazines were published there in the course of the decade.[24]

The idea that newspapers improved the lives and raised the consciousness of citizens in a republic was basic to libertarian thought. Ben Franklin had said in his memoirs that he regarded his newspaper as a "Means of Instruction" for citizens in a republic, and the editor of the *Pennsylvania Packet* in 1784 wrote:

> We say (with deference to the college)
> News Papers are the spring of knowledge;
> The gen'ral source throughout the nation,
> Of every modern conversation.[25]

That was true especially of party newspapers, like the *Gazette of the United States* edited by John Fenno, *Porcupine's Gazette* edited by Cobbett and the *Aurora* edited by Bache, which were a central part of life in the capital as they forwarded their opinions on politics in the city, state and nation. *Porcupine's Gazette* was the most popular of the three, circulating to about 3,200 readers, but all reached more than their circulations indicated because of pass-along readership and because so many other papers around the country copied from them. Political coverage accounted for about 90 percent of the papers' editorial content, with the remaining 10 percent devoted to human interest stories.[26]

All three papers dealt with women infrequently, although a few political stories on women were found along with isolated others that contained

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22. See, for example, Susan Isaacs criticism of depiction of female friendships in contemporary movies in "Sisterhood Isn't So Powerful in the Movies," *New York Times*, 14 Jan. 1990.

23. *Ladies Magazine*, March 1793, 171.

24. Philadelphia became a publishing center in part because it was mid-way on the postroad between Boston and Charleston. *American Magazine*, January 1741; Mott, 31-2.

25. *Pennsylvannia Packett*, 22 Sept. 1784. Smith, 40, 86, 135.

26. Circulation of the *Aurora* was about 1,700, and of the *Gazette of the United States*, about 1,200. Average newspaper circulation around this time was about 600. See List, "The Role of William Cobbett in Phladelphia's Party Press 1794-1799, "*Journalism Monographs* 82 (May 1983). See also Fay and Stewart.

some commentary on women and politics. In addition, some of the stories on crime, the weather and other human interest topics were about women. No matter the type of piece, the editors tended to portray women as either rewards for correct political behavior or victims, often of the opposition political party. In so doing, they crafted strong editorial pronouncements about women's place, using women for their own political purposes.[27]

Like the newspapers, magazines, modeled after successful British miscellanies, carried political information, foreign and domestic news, and reports of births, deaths and marriages, as well as essays, verse, and literary excerpts, although in different proportions. Because they printed far fewer political pieces and more social and cultural items, these publications were much more likely to print stories on women, focusing in particular on the significance of their roles as wives and mothers. Some pieces discussed the pros and cons of women's education as well as their political involvement. Only one of the publications in this study was devoted exclusively to women, that being *Ladies Magazine*, the first American publicaiton to target a female audience. The tone of virtually all the content in that magazine as well as all the others was one of instruction, most of it written by men.[28]

While the identity of newspaper editors like Fenno, Cobbett and Bache was widely known, magazine editors sometimes were anonymous.[29] Both types of publications targeted the middle and upper classes, but magazines in particular were aimed at the elite because of their greater expense.[30] The influence of both, however, was considered to be far greater than their limited circulations and short lives might have indicated.[31]

Evidence in the publications themselves indicates that women read both newspapers and magazines. Circulation figures and the phenomenon of pass-along readership alone would suggest that the periodicals reached many women. Women placed some advertising in the newspapers, while some was directed to them. Editorial content in the form of articles and letters-to-the-editor with women's by-lines, such as "An American Lady" and "A Girl of Spirit," also appeared.[32]

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27. List, "Two Party Papers' Political Coverage of Women in the New Republic," 154, 161-62.

28. See List, "Magazine Portrayals of Women's Role in the New Republic."

29. Those editing the fifteen magazines in this study whose identity was known were all men.

30. In 1789, there were 75 post offices and 1,000 miles of post roads. The Postal Act of 1792 authorized sending newspapers in the mail, but magazines could be sent only if they paid letter rates, which were considered prohibitive. Rates became more favorable in 1794, but postmasters still could determine if the extra bulk of magazines could be handled. If so, subscribers paid 20-40 percent of subscription prices for postage. See U.S. Statues at Large, Third Congress, Session 1, Ch. 23, Sec. 22, 8 May 1794: Richard Kielbowicz, "The Press, Post Office and Flow of News in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic* (Fall 1983): 267-69; Mott, 16,18, 46, 119-20.

31. *American Museum*, begun in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey in 1787, was one of the era's most successful magazines. It began with fewer than a score of subscribers, but the first issue sold all of the one thousand copies. It had 1,250 subscribers by the end of its first year, including Washington and other notables. While it published for five years, many other magazines did not last long because unlike newspapers they relied exclusively on subscriptions for their income. Mott, 67, 24-34, 101.

32. Women advertised as shop-keepers and bookbinders and for places as teachers, governesses, companions, and wet nurses, and other ads for products and services were

Magazines specifically sought women readers and women's contributions. Noah Webster had been one of the first to do so in his *American Magazine*, published in New York in 1787.[33] *Ladies Magazine* included pieces under women's pen names, but while its allegorical frontis showed a woman kneeling to Liberty on a throne and presenting her with a copy of the Rights of Woman, it said of female authors: "We admire them more as authors than esteem them as women."[34]

Women also mentioned reading the periodicals in their correspondence and journals. Abigail Adams, the wife of President John Adams, read both *Porcupine's Gazette* and the *Aurora*. Since her politics were more in line with the *Gazette*, she found that Bache's paper "tends to corrupt the morals of the common people." Cobbett, on the other hand, said "many good things, and he is the only thorn in Bache's side."[35] Other leading women in Frederalist society discussed Cobbett and thought him clever. Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, a Quaker whose husband was a leading Philadelphia merchant, quoted from Fenno's *Gazette* in her journal, and when Cobbett left America on June 3, 1800, she wrote that while she had never seen him in the streets of the city, "I seem to know him well."[36] One of Bache's female readers wrote to him: "I thank you for your *Aurora*. I welcome it every evening, as I would a pleasant, intelligent friend."[37]

As these publications transmitted the country's heritage from one generation to the next, they clearly had something to say about women to their female and male readers alike. What they had to say, however, did not reflect women's lives.

Women at the end of the eighteenth century lived in a largely female world, rooted for the most part in the domestic sphere. They lived "a regulated daily existence whose rhythms, purpose, and tasks were shared with other women."[38] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has written that these supportive networks

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headed "To The Ladies." Other female by-lines included "Miss Fair Play" and "A Lady in Dublin." See the *Aurora*, 11 June, 5 July, and 30 July 1798, and 22 and 31 Jan. 1799, and *Porcupine's Gazette*, 2 June, 3, 4, 6 and 9 July, and 10 Nov. 1798.

33. Jemina Loveleap pointed out in the first issue that women had many good ideas to contribute and they were invited to do so. The magazine published pieces under different women's pen names, but Webster is thought to have written at least some of them. He also assured his "fair readers" that "no inconsiderable pains will be taken to furnish them with entertainment." *American Magazine*, December 1787, 3. *Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* also had invited female contributions in its may 1787 issue. Mott, 16.

34. *Ladies Magazine*, July 1792 .69.

35. Abigail Adams to Mary Cranch, 12 Dec. 1797, and 13 March 1798, in Stewart Mitchell , ed., "New Letters of Abigail Adams," *American Antiquarian Society* 55 (18 April 1945-17 Oct. 1745): 321-22.

36. H.D. Biddle, ed., *Extracts from the journal of Elizabeth Drinker* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1899), 361. See also Anne Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 13-20.

37. Quoted in Fay, 271. These women's comments are reminiscent of a woman who said recently of the *New York Daily News:* "It is a comfortable old habit. It's like a cup of coffee in the morning." The piece in which this sentiment was expressed also quoted the *News'* new publisher, Robert Maxwell, as saying the paper would be "the voice of New York for the ordinary man." *New York Times*, 16 March 1991.

38. Lee Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty A Better Husband: Single Women in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), 128., says: "Women looked to one another

"were institutionalized in social conventions or rituals which accompanied virtually every important event in a woman's life, from birth to death." Mother-daughter relationships were at the heart of this world, with daughters working as apprentices to their older role models and grandmothers playing a significant part in this system of financial, practical and moral support. Sisters and female friends provided life-long connections, as grandmothers and mothers died and children and grandchildren took their places. In this female world, hostility toward and criticism of other women were discouraged, and women, therefore, "could develop a sense of inner security and esteem."[39] Mary Wollstonecraft wrote: "The most holy bond of society is friendship."[40]

Something of a decline in patriarchal authority in more affluent families toward the century's end also worked to free up women's lives. Remaining single, delaying marriage, separating and divorcing became viable options for some, and contraception was used more frequently. In addition, the spirit of the Reformation encouraged women to take responsibility for their relationships with God, and all of this helped them interpret their lives as they chose.[41]

"Home" meant to these women, a place where they developed "shared, female-identified values, rituals, relationships, and modes of communication that were sources of satisfaction and strength."[42] Marilyn Motz' conclusion that for Michigan women beginning about 1820 "home meant not a space but a system of relationships" is equally applicable to women in the new republic. These relationships, Motz says, provided the "central and lasting family unit that was indeed women's sphere."[43]

Women also continued these relationships outside the home, where Wollstonecraft's views on broader educational opportunities for women were widely accepted. The Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, the first school of its kind in the United States, had been established in 1787. Here women learned reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, composition, rhetoric, geography, French and the classics, as well as music, dance, painting, drawing and needlework. In the decade of the 1790s, other such schools proliferated, promoting female friendship among their students. Older women began to duplicate the academy experience by organizing groups to work on projects and

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for shared values, for understanding their experience, for clarification of expectations about the future, for recognition and support in attaining goals." As the nineteenth century began to unfold, women's friendships became increasingly important, providing validation, affirmation, nurturing and encouragement of self-esteem-- the love of and trust in one's self that leads to greater autonomy. Chambers-Schiller, 127, 148-49, 155-56.

39. Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," in Cott and Elizabeth Pleck (eds), *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward A New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), 317-18, 321. See also, 322-24; Marilyn Motz, *True Sisterhood: Michigan Women and Their Kin, 1820-1920* (Albany: State University of New York Press), 4-5; Premo, Part I and 181-82; See also Cott, 70,125, 173, 197, 200, 205.

40. Wollstonecraft, quoted in Janice Raymond, *A Passion for Friends: Toward a Philosophy of Female Affection* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986),71.

41. Chambers-Schiller, 1, 3, 27, 36, 38; Norton, 229-236; Evans, 56.

42. Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), 43.

43. Motz, 3, 1.

create audiences to hear one another's essays.[44] And women visited one another frequently to quilt, spin, sew or just to talk. [45]

Adams was probably the best known example at this time of a woman who valued female friendships. She corresponded to improve her mind and polish her writing with at least four women friends from an early age. Her most widely known female friend was historian of the Revolution Mercy Otis Warren, a role model for Abigail at sixteen years her senior. The two were confidantes during the Revolution, and their friendship remained a significant source of strength for both during the years of the new republic. Abigail depended upon her friend's advice, and Mercy appreciated Abigail's encouragement of her writing as it expanded beyond poetry to playwriting, satire and political commentary.[46]

Elizabeth Drinker and Margaret Bache provide other examples of women whose lifelong friendships with their sisters was typical for the time. Elizabeth's sister Mary lived with the Drinker family, which included five children and five servants, and did the housework in later years so that Elizabeth could amuse herself by reading.[47] Margaret wrote faithfully to her sister Betsey and spoke of friendship: "You tell me that all my old friends entertain a high esteem for me;--Friends whose affection is not diminished by absence are valuable;-endeavour to make such."[48] And as for friends closer by, Margaret invited Ms. Hewson to stay with her when she travelled to Philadelphia, despite the fact that her husband's grandfather had seen her in Margaret's place as Ben Bache's wife. [49]

The plan for incorporating women into the promise of the Revolution as it played out in the new republic was to blend these sorts of private concerns with public: women would stay at home, but there they would nurture republican husbands and educate republican sons. They would, in fact, embody the virtues of republican government in order to model and encourage those same virtues in their husbands and children. This heightened emphasis on marriage and motherhood--which the periodicals at this time called women's sphere, among other things--focused on traditional tasks, but the understanding of those tasks as the necessary building blocks of a republic meant a

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44. DePauw and Hunt, 101; Kerber, Women of the Republic, 189-231; *Rise and Progress of the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Stewart & Cochran, 1794), Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*, 176-77, 179, and Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1979), 79, 81.

45. Abigail Adams wrote from Richmond Hill, N.Y., in 1789: "I have returned more than sixty visits all of them in 3 or 4 afternoons..." Quoted in June Sprigg, *Domestick Beings* (New York: Alred Knopf, 1984), 89. See also DePauw and Hunt, 45-59.

46. The friendship collapsed in 1805 when Mercy criticized John Adams' administration in *History of the American Revolution*, but the friends later reconciled. Lynne Withey, Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams (New York: The Free Press, 1981), 45-46, 11-12. The women with whom Abigail corresponded from a young age were Hannah Storer, Eunice Paine, Mary Nicholson, and Polly Palmer.

47. Drinker's 1 Jan. 1802, journal entry, quoted in Scott, 18. Drinker deserved a rest since she had run the household from the age of 42 while her husband was imprisioned during the Revolution and had her last child at 46.

48. Margaret Bache to Elizabeth Markoe, undated rough draft, probably December 1791, Bache Papers- Castle Collection, American Philosphical Society. See also Margaret Bache to her grandfather Isaac Hartman, 21 March 1792, Ibid.

49. Smith, 147.

reassessment of women's role and its significance. This reassessment justified advanced educational opportunities for women and provided an opportunity to recognize that they would need to think independently to carry out their work as citizens. [50]

This new role coupled with increased educational and religious opportunities led many women to involve themselves in public life despite their subject status through reading, conversation, writing and other activity. Some returned to their revolutionary roots and begin to organize. They formed scores of voluntary associations--charitable, religious, reform, professional and political. These too were networks of mutual support and platforms from which to influence American politics. Women in these groups were acting in a more politically aggressive manner, but while a few made marks for themselves nationally and worked in a variety of professions and jobs, most were doing so through their roles as housewives and in the safety of numbers of others like themselves. [51]

> To carry out the mission of republican motherhood, women needed support and advice from one another in ways that moved beyond kinship networks and into public organization. In the process they began to create a female culture and to redefine the meaning of public life itself. [52]

From the late eighteenth century on, then, women developed a self-conscious and idealized concept of female friendship that "became a subject of their conversation, reading, reflection, and writing."[53]. They populated, shaped and discussed women's sphere, defining their own lives. Their relationships with one another, however, were not reflected in the periodicals of the day, nor did the periodicals interpret women's sphere in an expansive fashion that would have been inclusive of women. They chose instead to formulate a social construction of women's role that interpreted women's sphere as a constraining physical space and then to relegate women there.

Carolyn Heilbrun wrote in 1988: "Indeed, friendship between women has rarely been recounted."[54] That certainly was true of these periodicals. Stories of women's friendships were largely absent from their pages. Among the thousands of items read, only a few pieces were found that focused on the coming together of women in friendship and support, and a few other scattered references to such relationships were noted. Strong messages were sent, however, on how a woman might secure her truest and best friend--a husband--and on how she should relate to and feel about other women. The publications seemed to agree with Jonathan Swift, who said: "I never knew a tolerable

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50. Benjamin Rush, a lecturer at the Young Ladies Academy, epitomized this new attitude: "[Woman's life is] dedicated to the service of civic virture; She educates her sons for it, she condems and corrects her husband's lapses from it." Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 213, 227-230, and List, "The Post-Revolutionary Woman Idealized."

51. One example of such activity was the formation in Philadelphia in 1793 of the Female Society for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, a Quaker women's group that established free schools for female children. Scott, 262-75; Evans, 54-59.

52. Evans, 66.

53. Cott, 160.

54. Carolyn Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,1988), 98.

woman to be fond of her own sex."[55] In the process, they ignored, condemned and trivialized women's realtionships with one another.

American Museum in 1790 published reports of a daughter mourning the loss of her mother and of a fifteen-year-old girl leaving the academy at Bethlehem, Pa., saying good-bye to her companions, "to whom I feel myself bound with the strongest cords of love and esteem" and with whom friendship had been "here contracted and cemented."[56] *Ladies Magazine*'s "Specimens of Female Literature" included a number of letters exchanged by women correspondents. One of these from Mrs. Savigny to Miss R_____ ended: "Adieu, my beloved friend--my sister--if possible, my more than sister."[57] And a poem several pages later, written as a dialogue between Maria and Amelia, read in part:

> Welcome, my friend, indulge not vain dispair,
> Here, unmolested, all thy wrongs declare;
> Friendship the sympathetic tear shall lend,
> And every comfort to thy heart extend.[58]

In addition, a few stories included examples of women befriending other women in illness and distress, and obituaries described them solely in terms of their relationships with others--"daughter, wife, mother, Christian and friend."[59] Letitia Clacket in 1799 wrote to Cobbett requesting more such reports of deaths, as well as births and marriages:

> These are to us, of far more importance than affairs of state, or the history of the war, and the taxes. . . and what is more important, than all, they are matters on which we may venture to talk without the least risk of contradiction.[60]

Clacket's request was not granted, and the few references to women's relationships found were most striking for their singularity: they did not constitute nearly enough to dissuade one from concluding that women's friendship in the pages of the publications was invisible. Even these few were countered by the strong message that a woman's husband was her best friend,

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55. Swift, quoted in Raymond, 151.
56. *American Museum*, August 1787, 165, May 1790, 242, and September 1790, 118.
57. Mrs. Savigny to Miss R_____, *Ladies Magazine*, July 1792, 80. For other such letters see: Lady Mary Montagu to Lady _____, Ibid., 38-40; Miss Trevors to Miss R _____, Ibid., pp. 40-42; Clarinda to Charolotte, Ibid., August 1792, p. 137; Mrs. Pembroke to Miss Harley, Ibid; Lady Jane Grey to her sister, September 1792, p. 182; Mrs. Stanton to Miss Hervey, December 1792, 41-43; a Young Lady in Tours to a friend in the country, March 1793, 185-86. The Rev. John Bennet wrote in *American Museum*, September 1791, 145, that women made better correspondents than men: "not cramped with the shackles and formality of rules, their thoughts are expressed spontaneously, as they flow, and become, more immediately, a lively, amusing, written conversation."
58. *Ladies Magazine*, July 1792, 83.
59. *Porcupine's Gazette*, 26 July, 1798: "Narrative of the Cure of Susannah Arch," *Methodist Magazine*, January 1797, 80-84; "Amelia: A Moral Tale," *Literary Museum*, n.d., 45-47.
60. *Porcupine's Gazette*, 10 Aug. 1799.

despite some evidence to the contrary. [61] "No happiness on earth can be so great, nor any friendship so tender, as the state of matrimony," *Weekly Magazine* noted. [62] Even the recently married Mrs. Savigny wrote in that same letter to her "more than sister": feelings for a husband were such "that friends... were instantly forgotten." [63] Women, it seemed, were more likely to recieve letters of advice and instruction from men: the girl at boarding school from her brother; the daughter from her father; the newlywed from her brother. [64]

The magazines preached that the husband/best friend was to be won through effecting an appropriate personality and appearance--neither of which was likely to conform to nature. Control of passions and cultivation of a good disposition were emphasized above all else. *Ladies Magazine* in September 1792 quoted Wollstonecraft: "I wish to shew that... the first object of laudable ambition is to obtain a character as a human being." [65] But all of the magazines' own messages were to the contrary. Restraint of natural character defects--"scolding, crying, falling into fits, going to watering places, and running up bills"--was a fulltime pursuit. [66] When these characteristics were repressed, women could work toward the ideal: she who was always resigned in all situations, obedient, modest, moderate, diffident, demure, delicate, affable, cheerful, simple and soft.[67] The brother writing to his younger sister at boarding school made it clear that, in her case, a reformation of manners was in order:

> You may rest assured, the degree of my esteem and love will be proportioned to the merit, of which I shall think you possessed. Nor is it the love of brothers only that must thus be secured. [68]

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61. One writer said that communication between the sexes was so lacking that if a man married a woman with "tastes, disposition, and character essentially different from his... he might become the father of a large family and die without discovering his mistake." A. Calhous, *A social history of the American family from colonial times to the present* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1945), 133. Smith-Rosenberg in "The Female World," 327-28, tells of an instance when a life-long friend helped a mother care for her dying daughter, then made elaborate arrangements for the funeral, which the woman's husband did not even attend. *Ladies Magazine* reported that Lady Mary Wortley Montague said if husbands and wives were separated in Paradise, "I fancy most [women] won't like it the worse for that." November 1792, 278.

62. *Weekly Magazine*, 10 March 1798, 153. see also *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 182; April 1793, 220; *American Museum*, June 1788, 485, also pointed out the danger of either spouse "being happy out of the company of the other."

63. *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, 80. See also August 1792, 127, and *Town and Country*, May 1784, 26, for stories about women whose marriages ended their female friendships. The latter said: "Love has taken possession of her heart, and she is no longer sensible of friendship."

64. *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, 20-22, 35-37.

65. *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792,191.

66. *Philadelphia Monthly*, February 1798, 83.

67. *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, 264; September 1792, 170; October 1792, 235; January 1793, passim; April 1793, pp. 219-20, 227-28. *Town and Country*, December 1784, 337; *American Museum*, March 1792, 99, 194.

68. *Ladies Magazine*, October 1792, 233. This particular young woman may have had problems because her brother noted in a postscript (234): "You have never expressed the

Wollstonecraft might have been critical of women "only anxious to inspire love, when they ought to . . . exact respect," [69] but inspiring love was probably the single most incessant theme of the magazines. The quest for a husband was so central to a woman's existence that she could not possibly, if one would believe the periodicals, have had time or inclination to think of anything else. Of course, once the conquest was successful, the personality and appearance had to be kept up to keep possession. Women were told that making husbands happy was the only way to find their own happiness, that they could outshine their husbands in nothing, that they "ought only to play behind the curtain; they cannot appear on the stage." [70]

When the publications did talk of women's friendships, they trivialized them by making them appear contrary to nature, superficial and nasty. Many women quoted in the magazines called their women acquaintances quarrelsome and boring and shunned them, thereby making themselves more accessible to the opposite sex. [71] While *Ladies Magazine* discussed the mutual sympathy involved in male friendships, it also noted that "persons of different sexes. . . are most likely to be capable of real friendship." The reason offered was that the remains of love created a gentleness too often missing from "common" friendships. [72]

These common friendships among women were made to sound far from desirable, largely because every woman was encouraged to view every other woman as a rival for a man's affections. The *Philadelphia Minerva* noted:

> Among women, friendship...commences rivalships...Whenever two pretty women are so lucky as to meet with the least plausible occasion to rid themselves of each other, they lay hold of it with so much eagerness, and hate one another so cordially, that one may easily judge what sort of affection had subsisted between them before. [73]

Friendships with other women, thus, had no positive value and--even worse--could be dangerous. *Ladies Magazine* referred to other women as "alien amusements" for stray husbands. And women were to consider it their fault if husbands were attracted to these creatures: "A husband may, possibly, in his daily excursions, see many women he thinks handsomer than his wife; but it is generally her fault if he meets with one that he thinks more amiable." [74]

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least desire to have my advice...I expected that you would frequently have invited me to give you some lectures. My expectations were ill-founded."

69. *Ladies Magazine*, August 1792, 192.

70. *Town and Country*, December 1784, 339; *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, 36-37; *American Museum*, June 1788, 486-87.

71. They may have agreed with Lady Montague, who said that while there were many disadvantages to being a woman at least she didn't have to marry one. Louis Kronenberger, *Kings and desperate men: Life in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Vintage Books, 1942), 76. Raymond, 176-77.

72. *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792, 42. See also July 1792, 57-59.

73. *Philadelphia Minerva*, 30 April , 1796, n.p. See also *Dessert to the True American*, 26 May, 1799, n.p.

74. *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 177. See also *American Museum*, October 1789, p. 312; *Ladies Magazine*, June 1792,36; *Philadelphia Minerva*, 27 Feb. 1798, 122.

Even women who might not have feared other women as rivals had they believed the magazines would have considered their company a waste of time. Women were described as gathering where they could "indulge in their natural propensity to parade and ostentation." [75] They gadded about; window shopped; attended entertainments, balls and assemblies, and tittered at cards: "such is the female nature that it constantly shews a greater proclivity to the gay and the amusive, than to the sober and useful scenes of life." [76] While indulging in these entertainments, women took "more pleasure in talking than anything." But talking did not mean conversation: it meant "eternal tattling," "gossip," "evil speaking" and "discovering Blemishes." [77]

The newspapers also portrayed women as too weak and frightened to venture to engage in relationships other than those with husbands and children. They were, rather, victims, most likely of men from the opposing poitical party but also of criminals and even the weather. Women were killed, raped, pillaged, made to work as prostitutes, beaten and terrified. These misfortunes sometimes happened to them as they made their way about in the world, so the safest place for them cleary was at home. But even there they fell victim to some of the same fates: one woman, for example was struck by lightning while ironing. Still, to be a victim of any sort was better than to attempt to take matters into one's own hands, which was considered unnatural. [78]

Real women, according to the newspapers should not look for aid and comfort to themselves or to one another but to the "right" political party. The Federalists or the Democratic-Republicans, depending on which paper one was reading, would see that all such mistreatment stopped and that American women could "sleep without apprehension of being disturbed by the violator or the assassin." [79]

While what women perceived as their own culture was not reflected in these periodicals, the magazines and newspapers clearly spelled out what they saw as women's place.

Lucy Stone, editor of the *Woman's Journal*, a suffrage newspaper begun in 1869, wrote: "Too much has already been said and written about woman's sphere." [80] She might have written those words 75 years earlier had

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75. *Ladies Magazine*, February 1793, 125.

76. Ibid., December 1792, 126. See also *Town and Country*, May 1784, 25; *Weekly Magazine*, February 1798, 122.

77. Two women playing cards and talking about other women grasping for husbands and not paying bills were described as "demure sluts." *Ladies Magazine*, December 1792, 8, 24, 39-40; May 1793, 274; *Weekly Magazine*, 9 Feb. 1799, n.p. Isaacs in the 14 Jan. 1990, *New York Times* criticized depiction of women's friendships in contemporary movies in a similar vein: "[T]he most intelligent women are presented as morally deficient; friends, sisters indulge in cruel gossip about each other, or routinely betray each other...Women get side-tracked in a way men buddies never do; they get goofy over the opposite sex..."

78. See *Porcupine's Gazette*, 17 July 1798, and *Porcupine's Works*, vol. 6, 343, and vol. 9, 216; and the *Aurora*, 19 Jan.,5 March, 6 June , 21, 23, and 28 July, Aug. 13, 6 and 18 Nov., and 7, 11, and 15 Jan. 1799.

79. *Porcupine's Gazette*, 19 June1798, and the *Aurora*, 3 Aug.and 29 Dec. 1798.

80. Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 9. Stone, an abolitionist, believed that suffrage campaigns for women and black men should be separate. When Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony founded the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869 and limited membership to women, Stone and others started the American Woman Suffrage Association open to men and launched their own newspaper, the *Journal*, to serve as a

she been a regular reader of new republic periodicals, which agreed with *American Magazine:* "When a woman quits her own department, she offends her husband, not merely because she obtrudes herself upon his business, but because she departs from that sphere which is assigned her in the order of society." [81] The publications' chief task, it seemed, in relation to women was assigning that sphere. They recognized only fleetingly that women might have parts to play in and of themselves. Autonomous roles were rejected. The strong message sent was that women existed only to serve others. Affiliation was stressed.

In the newspapers, women were stereotyped as rewards for male bravery. Few reports on their associating outside the home appeared, but when they did, any activity other than recognizing men's accomplishments was criticized. The few references made to broader possibilities for women were resoundingly drowned out by the message that women could only hope to influence men, who were the real actors in the republican drama.

Fenno, Cobbett and Bache, when they did not portray women cowering in fear at home, frequently depicted them offering their inspiration and love as rewards for correct political behavior. Women presented standards to the troops, spurring them on to glory on America's behalf, then promised their undying love when the task was accomplished. The editors went so far as to suggest that women should withhold sex from or even divorce husbands whose politics were incorrect. The women of York explained in *Porcupine's Gazette* how the process worked: "If you expect ever to obtain our love, be assured that can only be obtained by defending the Liberty, the Independence, and the Religion of your country. "[82]

The few times that the newspapers reported women asserting themselves in public, they were belittled. Cobbett criticized the women of Middletown, Conn., for gathering on the Fourth of July, in part because they met in a public park. "I don't like this. I remember nothing like it in any civilized country, either in ancient or modern times." [83] Women in the newspapers were simply used for the editors' own political purposes, considered secondary and subservient, able only to manipulate rather than act on their own. And all of this played out at home: Where else would women cower in fear of the enemy or give themselves to men as rewards? The only indication in any of the newspapers that women were not satisfied with this role spelled out for them was an occasional ad for a run-away wife. [84]

Magazine treatment of women's sphere was similar in some repects. Republicans generally denounced acquistion of costly goods, but when about 100 women in Harford, Conn., and Halifax, N.C., formed an association to pay strict attention to domestic economy and frugality, the *American Museum* downplayed their efforts. Though they agreed to buy no European extravagances, to dress plainly in American clothing and to avoid unnecessary

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counterpoint to Stanton and Anthony's *The Revolution.* See Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977), 24-5.

81. *American Magazine,* March 1788, 244.

82. *Porcupine's Gazette,* 13 July 1798. See also 10 March and 8 July 1798.

83. *Porcupine's Gazette,* 14 July 1798. Women's activity was sometimes considered acceptable if undertaken on behalf of the proper political party. See also 12 and 19 June and 6 Aug.1798.

84. *Porcupine's Works* (London: Crown & Mitre, 1801), vol. 9, 344.

expenses for visiting and entertaining, their husbands were said to be "devising other, and more extensive, plans of policy, for the salvation of. . . the United States." [85] The few stories printed about women in public life who might have been considered role models were about women who were long dead, exotic or fictional, not anything like the women who lived in the new republic. [86]

The most extensive and advanced argument in relation to women's sphere appeared in Charles Brockden Brown's Wollstonecraft-inspired "Alcuin," a dialogue between Alcuin and his hostess, Mrs. Carter, which was published in 1799 in *Weekly Magazine*. Mrs. Carter chafes at being "passed over, in the distribution of public duties, as absolutely nothing. . ." This sort of consciousness of women's marginality in terms of public life was virtually absent from the publications, but when it appeared here Alcuin made short work of it. He seemed to equate allowing women political privileges with allowing such privileges to "the young, the poor, the blacks, the stranger. . ." While he recognized that Mrs. Carter might be discontented, he argued that she was "singular" and that most women were satisfied with "the post assigned them... " [87] Women generally were instructed not to "effect to be singular," or they would "render themselves ridiculous." [88]

Weekly Magazine also criticized Wollstonecraft for attempting to "extend the sphere of female duties and female obligations beyond the boundary which nature, seconded by reason and custom, had presumed to point out."[89] While her advanced ideas on women's education made sense in relation to their becoming more engaging companions and effective teachers, women never should be educated above their stations in life. "However ambitious a woman may be to command admiration abroad, her real merit is known only at home." Women were "destined to fill, in delightful succession, the stations of wife and mother, guardian of our rising offspring, counsellor of our busy anxious manhood, and the intellectual charm of our declining years." [90]

Women's sphere as conceptualized by the periodicals was a physical space –the home– where women were to play a limited role not created by them but assigned to them by men. The message was to devote oneself privately to husband, children and, only through service to them, country. "It is by the arts of pleasing only that women can attain to any degree of consequence or power." [91]

Margaret Bache seemed to know that. After her husband's death, she continued as the *Aurora's* publisher while Bache's employee William Duane became its editor. On Jan. 15, 1799, she informed the *Aurora*'s compositors and pressmen that "the conduct of the *Aurora* office is entirely under the

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85. *American Museum*, August 1797, 163. Smith, 30.

86. Women discussed included people like Queen Elizabeth, the empress of Russia, the countess of Schwartzburg and Ella of Norway. See *Ladies Magazine*, September 1792, 180-81; December 1792, 51-54; January 1793, 97-102; *American Museum*, March 1792, p. 210; the *Key*, January 1798, 10-11.

87. *Weekly Magazine*, 4, 7, and 11 Aug. 1798. See also Virginia Sapiro, *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), Ch. 1.

88. *Ladies Magazine*, November 1792, 282.

89. *Weekly Magazine*, 13 April 1799, 19.

90. *American Magazine*, May 1788, 368-69; *Weekly Magazine*, 4 Aug. 798, 15.

91. *The Dessert*, 2 Feb. 1799; see also the *Key*, 31 March 1798, 98.

direction of Mr. Duane and that [I] cannot interfere in any shape whatever." [92] Though Duane was "poor enough to have difficulty paying his rent for a room off an alley," Margaret married him in 1801 and stayed with him as he overcame sedition indictments and was beaten, threatened with deportation and forced into hiding after being found guilty of contempt of the Senate. [93]

Neither the newspaper published under her name nor any of the other seventeen periodicals in this study reflected the reality of her life or its possibilities. Rather, the lives of women in these pages were distorted through regressive steroetyping, then shaped into women's sphere. That sphere for the periodicals clearly was a social construction based on the energy they expended in, what Kerber in another context called, "the hard and constant work. . . to build and repair its boundaries." Thus they might quote a bit of Wollstonecraft, then immediately retreat to the heavy-handed message of her "Quixotic Mania."[94]

After the Revolution, it was no longer possible to take for granted women's role in society. The utilitarian notion of women holding together the domestic sphere now had to be defended and articulated in a way that would tie them to new republic ideology. The periodicals became voices of authority in terms of disseminating a new conception of woman's role--one that kept her in the home but elevated the significance of what she did there. Women were to exert superior moral influence on republican husbands and sons as they prepared themselves to take their places in a world outside the home in which women would have no part.

The periodicals' conception of women's sphere not only rejected the more equalitarian ideas of women like Wollstonecraft, but also an interpretation of women's role that would have recognized more direct involvement on their part in terms of fashioning their own lives and contributing more directly to others'. In other words, membership in this narrowly defined sphere was not voluntary and its rules were not negotiable; the periodicals assigned women to it and expected them to adhere to its rigid expectations. Within this sphere, women's relationships with one another were viewed as nonexistent, impossible or inadvisible, since women were less than men in every way and nothing in and of themselves.

Historian Phyllis Rose wrote: "If you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing." [95] New republic newspapers and magazines left out women's lives as women themselves defined and lived them. If the publications appreciated the force of what they were leaving out or not is almost beside the point. The end product was the same. In 1990, a *New York Times* critic wrote in relation to contemporary movies: "[T]he power of [women's] friendship and their energy is diminished by their relationships with men." [96] Two hundred years ago in the pages of these periodicals, the power of women's friendship and their individual

92. "M.H. Bache's answer to the second letter of the Compositors & Pressmen," Jan. 15, 1799, and Margaret Bache to the Aurora Compositors and Pressmen, 1799, Bache Papers--Castle Collection, American Philosophical Society.
93. Smith, 160, 168-69.
94. *Weekly Magazine*, 13 April 1799, 19; Kerber, "Separate Spheres," 28
95. Phyllis Rose, *Writing on Women: Essays in a Renaissance* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), 77.
96. Isaacs, *New York Times*, 14 Jan. 1990.

and collaborative energy in the wider world were extinguished by their relationships with men.

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Misperceptions and Criminal Prosecutions: Theodore Roosevelt and The Panama Canal Libels

by Robert L. Spellman

Why did President Teddy Roosevelt, no stranger to the rough-and-tumble of American politics, pursue Pulitzer and others in the courts? The motivation, the author argues, was based on a complicated set of correct and incorrect beliefs about the individuals involved.

Scandal is the coin of the realm in American politics. Often the result is only titillation of voters, but the fallout from the 1908 presidential campaign was a major challenge to freedom of the press and a severe abuse of presidential power. Allegations of financial wrongdoing against family members of President Theodore Roosevelt and Republican candidate William Howard Taft enlivened the race. One month before the election the New York*World* published claims that an American syndicate had secretly profited from the purchase in 1904 for $40 million of the properties of the French companies that had started building the Panama Canal. Among the alleged profiteers were Douglas Robinson, brother-in-law of Roosevelt, and Charles P. Taft, half brother of the Republican candidate and publisher of the *Cincinnati Times-Star*. Most major newspapers picked up the story from wire services. The allegations enraged Roosevelt, who deemed them a smear on both his presidency and his family honor. Eventually he sought revenge by prosecuting some of the nation's most prominent journalists, including *World* publisher Joseph Pulitzer, for criminal libel. The stories did falsely stain the president's Panama Canal policies and the honor of the Roosevelt and Taft families. Nevertheless, the use of federal power to punish criticism of the president and cabinet members was a significant and unwarranted attack on press freedom and the ability of the press to act as a watchdog of national government.

The *World* story asserted that an American syndicate, including Robinson, Charles P. Taft and other "men more prominent in the New York world of finance"[1] purchased securities of the French companies[2] for $3.5 million. It claimed:

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1. *New York World*, 3 Oct. 1908. Although they were only half brothers, William Howard and Charles P. Taft usually were described as brothers in news stories.

2. Construction of the canal had been started by Compagnie Universelle du Canal Interoceanique de Panama (Old Panama Canal Co.), formed by Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal. The de Lesseps company went bankrupt amid financial and political scandal. Its assets accrued to Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama (New

> These financiers invested their money because of a full knowledge of the intention of the Government to acquire the French property at a price of about $40,000,000, and thus – because of their alleged information from high Government sources – were enabled to reap a rich profit.[3]

The story asserted the syndicate made a profit of $36.5 million which was "divided among Government favorites in the world of politics and finance."[4] The story said the organizers of the syndicate were William Nelson Cromwell, senior partner of the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell and American lawyer for the French canal interests, and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French engineer and co-owner of *Le Matin*, a large Paris newspaper. The two men had been lobbyists for the French companies when Congress in 1902 had approved purchase of the French assets and of the construction of an American waterway across Panama.[5] The story originated when Cromwell complained to the Manhattan district attorney that a blackmail gang had sought $25,000 from him to suppress the tale of profiteering. Cromwell said the allegations of a syndicate and profiteering were false. The story carried a denial by Taft that he had purchased or sold French canal securities. Robinson disdained comment.[6]

The story was literally true. Cromwell had complained about the blackmail gang's demands. He had said the gang made a threat to make public allegations about the alleged syndicate and claims that Robinson and Charles P. Taft were part of it. That did not free the *World* from guilt for libel. If the allegations made by the story's sources were false, then the *World* – and all other newspapers who published them – adopted them as its own. The law terms it republication libel. Under the common law of libel as it existed at the turn of the century, a republisher of a libel had the same legal exposure as the original source.[7] Whether the *World* believed what it published or not was not relevant. A newsman and his newspaper were strictly liable for what was published.[8]

Follow-up stories abounded in newspapers nationwide. One newspaper that picked up the original and follow-up stories was the *Indianapolis News*, the largest and most influential newspaper in Indiana. The usually Republican *News* had supported Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks, a Hoosier, in his losing bid for the GOP presidential nomination to Taft, handpicked by Roosevelt as his successor. The *News* accepted the gist of the stories as true and published

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Panama Canal Co.). Available for purchase in France were bonds of the old company and stock of the new company.

3. *New York World*, 3 Oct. 1908.

4. Ibid. Reports of the amount of the alleged profit varied widely in follow-up stories.

5. Charles D. Ameringer, "The Panama Canal Lobby of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and William Nelson Cromwell," *American Historical Review* 68 (January 1963): 346-363 Both Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell helped organize the 1903 revolution that separated Panama and Colombia. As Panama's first ambassador to the United States, Bunau-Varilla negotiated the treaty that granted the United States a canal right-of-way.

6. *New York World*, 3 Oct. 1908.

7. Post Publishing Co. v. Butler, 137 F. 723 (6th Cir. 1905). See American Law Institute, *Restatement (Second) of Torts*, sect. 578 (1977).

8. Post Publishing Co. v. Hallam, 59 F. 530 (6th Cir. 1893) (Taft, J.).

editorials decrying the alleged corruption. On election eve, it printed an editorial that asserted:

> It has been charged that the United States bought from American citizens for $40,000,000 property that only cost those citizens $12,000,000. Mr. Taft was Secretary of War at the time the negotiation was closed. There is no doubt that the government paid $40,000,000 for the property. But who got the money? We are not to know. The administration and Mr. Taft do not think it right that the people should know. The President's brother-in-law is involved in the scandal, but he has nothing to say. The candidate's brother has been charged with being a member of the syndicate. He has, it is true, denied it. But he refuses to appeal to the evidence, all of which is in the possession of the administration, and wholly inaccessible to outsiders. For weeks this scandal has been before the people. The records are in Washington, and they are public records. But the people are not to see them – till after the election, if then.[9]

The editorial triggered a chain of events that culminated in Roosevelt prosecuting the*World*, Pulitzer, two of his editors, and Delavan Smith, publisher of the *News*, and Charles R. Williams, its editor.[10] Smith was a cousin of Fairbanks.

The *World* contended publicly that its story was true. It achieved victory in the courts on constitutional and other legal issues. The newspaper claimed it "would very much have preferred to let the case go to trial on its merits and present evidence in its possession to the jury."[11] Instead it fought on legal issues because

> not merely in its own interest, but in the interest of freedom of the press and in order to safeguard the public's right to a full, free and untrammeled discussion of all national and political questions, (it) felt obliged to resist to the utmost every pretense. . .that there was a Federal libel law.[12]

Only after it achieved a victory in the courts did the newspaper admit that the allegations against Robinson and Charles P. Taft were false.[13] Officials of the New Panama Canal Co. also swore to the falsity of the charges.[14] Studies of the

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9. *Indianapolis News*, 2 Nov. 1908. The reference to Taft was inaccurate. Elihu Root was secretary of war when the French assets were purchased.

10. U.S. District Court, District of Columbia, Case File, U.S. v. Press Publishing Co., 1909, National Archives, Suitland, Md.; U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, Case File, U.S. v. Press Publishing Co. and Caleb Van Hamm, 1909, New York Branch, National Archives, Bayonne, N.J.; U.S. District Court, District of Indiana, Case File, U.S. v. Delavan Smith and Charles R. Williams, Chicago Branch, National Archives, Chicago, Ill.

11. *The Roosevelt Panama Libel Case against The New York World* (New York: *New York World*, 1911), 22.

12. Ibid.

13. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Story of Panama: Hearings on the Rainey Resolution*, 62d Cong., 2d sess., 302, 520-521.

14. Henry Wise to Attorney General George W. Wickersham, 24 June 1909, reporting on depositions taken in France, Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, School of

canal libel case have overlooked the *World*'s admissions and have accepted the truth of the allegations.[15] So, too, have journalism historians[16] and biographers of Pulitzer.[17]

This article will summarize the libel actions and their outcomes and then probe why Roosevelt, no stranger to the vigorous rhetoric of American politics, mobilized the prosecutorial power of the presidency. Based on research in archives and newspapers of the period, the author concludes Roosevelt was motivated by:

1) His *correct* belief that Fairbanks, the former U.S. senator who was his vice president, secretly held a majority ownership of the *Indianapolis News*;

2) His *incorrect* belief that Fairbanks, a millionaire capitalist and onetime wire service reporter, controlled the editorial policies of the *News*; and

3) His *incorrect* belief that Pulitzer was responsible for the attacks in the *World* on his personal integrity and that of his family.

The Libel Prosecutions. Most journalists believed the federal government could not prosecute citizens for criminal libel. Congress had permitted the Sedition Act[18] to expire in 1801. Then the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that there was no federal common law of libel.[19] Roosevelt's lawyers employed legal creativity in an effort to carry out the president's desire to prosecute.[20] The Washington correspondent of the *London Times* reported that prosecutors "realize they will earn his (Roosevelt's) gratitude if their efforts are successful."[21] Acting on the orders of Attorney General Charles J. Bonaparte and often the direct supervision of Roosevelt, the prosecutors devised a two-pronged strategy. The first prong was to base prosecution on circulation of the *World* and *News* in Washington and to obtain indictments under the District of

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15. Clyde Peirce, *The Roosevelt Panama Libel Cases* (New York: Greenwich Press, 1959); Earl Harding, *The Untold Story of Panama* (New York: Athene Press, 1959). See also James M. Skinner, *France and Panama: The Unknown Years, 1894-1908* (New York: Peter A. Lang, 1989), 293.

16. Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988); Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950), 605-606; John L. Heaton, *The Story of a Page* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1913), 262-284; George Juergens, *News from the White House* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 80-90.

17. William Robinson Reynolds, "Joseph Pulitzer" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1950); W. J. Granberg,*The World of Joseph Pulitzer* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1965); Don C. Seitz, *Joseph Pulitzer: His Life and Letters* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1924); W. A. Swanberg, *Pulitzer* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967). An exception is Barrett, James Wyman, *Joseph Pulitzer and His* World (New York: Vanguard Press, 1941).

18. 1 Stat. 596 (1798).

19. U.S. v. Hudson and Goodwin, 11 U.S. (7 Cranch) 32 (1812).

20. After William Howard Taft became president, the Justice Department continued the prosecutions. George W. Wickersham, a law partner of Henry W. Taft, the president's brother, became attorney general. Taft had no tolerance for the type of reporting represented by the Panama libels. As a judge, he had ruled that newspapers are responsible for the accuracy of statements by sources even if the statements concerned public affairs. *Hallam*. As a young man, he had pummeled an editor who published what Taft considered malicious scandal about his father. *Editor & Publisher*, 19 Dec. 1908.

21. *London Times*, 16 Jan. 1909.

Columbia criminal code. Extradition of the journalists to the nation's capital then was sought.[22] The other prong was to obtain indictments in New York City under a federal statute that applied state law to federal enclaves when no federal law had been passed to cover an offense.[23] Those indictments were based on circulation of the *World* at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and the New York Post Office.[24]

The government's indictments were not confined to claims that Robinson and Charles P. Taft enriched themselves as members of a syndicate that shared profits with Roosevelt administration officials in return for confidential information. Also named as persons libeled were Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, former Secretary of War Elihu Root, Cromwell, and J. P. Morgan, who served as the government's financial agent in the purchase of the French assets. Prosecutors claimed the newspapers accused the members of the syndicate and Roosevelt administration of engaging in a criminal conspiracy to defraud the United States.[25] Whether the stories and editorials of the newspapers could be interpreted as allegations of criminal activity was never decided because the cases were decided on constitutional and other legal issues. Roosevelt's view of the stories was this: "In form, they are in part libels upon individuals. . .But they are in fact wholly, and in form partly, a libel upon the United States Government."[26]

Indicted in Washington, along with Pulitzer and two of his editors, were Smith and Williams, the publisher and editor of the *News*, respectively. Fairbanks escaped indictment because prosecutors were unable to pierce the secrecy that veiled his majority ownership of the *News*. The vice president's "name never appeared in the books, nor was it spoken in reference to ownership of the property."[27] Prosecutors sought an order in U.S. District Court in Indianapolis to extradite Smith and Williams. Their first hurdle was Joseph Kealing, the U.S. attorney in Indiana, who was Fairbanks' longtime political manager. Kealing resigned rather than seek the extradition order, claiming the government's action was "dangerous, striking at the very foundation of our form of government."[28] Earlier, in a note that indicated he knew of the vice president's control of the *News*, Kealing told Fairbanks that "I will go up or down with you."[29] The Justice Department dispatched a prosecutor from Washington to represent it in court.

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22. Case Files, District of Columbia, District of Indiana.
23. 30 Stat. 717 (1898) (reenacting earlier version of same law).
24. Case File, Southern District of New York.
25. Ibid.; Louis B. Ewbank, *The Indianapolis News Panama Libel Case, Report and Transcript* (Indianapolis: Fulmer-Cornelius Press, 1909), 168-171.
26. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, Message of the President, "Panama Canal Purchase," 60th Cong., 2d Sess., 15 Dec. 1908, 250.
27. Hilton U. Brown, *Book of Memories* (Indianapolis: Butler University, 1951), 200-201. Brown joined the *News* as a reporter in 1881, became city editor and then general manager, and remained an executive of the newspaper until his death in 1958 at age 99. See also *New York Times*, 20 and 21 Jan. 1909, and *Indianapolis Star*, 21 Jan. 1909.
28. *The Roosevelt Panama Libel Case against the New York World and the Indianapolis News* (New York: *New York World*, 1910), 19.
29. Joseph Kealing to Charles W. Fairbanks, Jan. 27, 1909, Charles Warren and Warren Charles Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

The extradition failed. Because it was a criminal prosecution rather than a civil suit, the government's effort clashed with the Sixth Amendment right of a defendant to be tried in the jurisdiction in which the crime was committed.[30] The government argued that criminal libel is committed where the libel is read rather than where it is printed.[31] Judge Albert B. Anderson ruled against extradition and wrote:

> (T)hat man has read the history of our institutions to little purpose who does not look with grave apprehension upon the possibility of the success of a proceeding such as this. If the history of liberty means anything – if constitutional guaranties are worth anything – this proceeding must fail.. . .(I)f the Government has that power and can drag citizens from distant States to the capital of the nation, there to be tried, then. . .this is a strange result of a revolution where one of the grievances complained of was the assertion of the right to send parties abroad for trial.[32]

Anderson, later a federal appellate judge, had been a supporter of Fairbanks in Indiana politics and had been appointed to the bench upon his recommendation. The decision was not to Roosevelt's liking and he later called the judge a "damned jackass and a crook."[33] There is no evidence Anderson's decision was a result of bias. Precedents favoring Smith and Williams had been handed down by federal courts in two cases involving Charles Dana, editor of the *New York Sun*. In both cases judges had refused to extradite Dana from New York to Washington, where he had been indicted for criminal libel.[34]

In New York U.S. Attorney Henry L. Stimson,[35] to Roosevelt's dismay, refused to indict Pulitzer. Stimson informed Roosevelt "there is something queer about the Federal prosecutions" and an appearance they were being brought "under the pressure of your personal desires."[36] He found no evidence that Pulitzer had knowledge of the Panama scandal stories and editorials at the time they were published and so informed Roosevelt. The president replied:

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30. "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed. . ." U.S. Constitution, amend. VI.

31. The government relied on Benson v. Henkel, 198 U.S. 1 (1905), in which the U.S. Supreme Court held a defendant in a mail fraud case could be tried in the jurisdiction in which the mail was received.

32. U.S. v. Smith, 173 F. 227, 232 (D.Ind. 1909).

33. *New York Times*, 23 Oct. 1910; *Indianapolis News*, 24 Oct. 1910.

34. In re Dana, 68 F. 886 (S.D.N.Y. 1895); In re Dana, Case No. 3554, 6 Fed. Cases 1140 (S.D.N.Y. 1873). The extradition effort against Smith and Williams was an embarrassment to Elihu Root, who had defended Dana in the 1895 case. *Editor & Publisher*, 27 Feb. 1909.

35. Stimson served as secretary of war under Presidents Taft, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman and as secretary of state under President Herbert Hoover.

36. Stimson to Roosevelt, 28 Jan. 1910, in Elting E. Morison, *Turmoil and Tradition: A Study of the Life and Times of Henry L. Stimson* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1960), 116.

> I am speaking only as a layman. But from the standpoint of the public good. . .I have tried so far as possible in every case, whether the offender was a big financier, a big politician, or a big newspaperman, to reach the headman rather than a subordinate. A wealthy man who deliberately chooses to play the part of a scoundrel is enormously encouraged thereto if he thinks he can escape with a trivial financial fine and let the real penalty be paid by subordinates. . .I think much more service would be rendered by indicting the two Pulitzers (Joseph and son Ralph) with only one chance in three of convicting them than by indicting their subordinates with three chances out of four of convicting them.[37]

Nevertheless, Roosevelt acceded to Stimson's judgment.[38] The indictments in New York were confined to Press Publishing Co., corporate owner of the *World*, and Caleb Van Hamm, managing editor, who wrote the original story about the alleged scandal.[39]

Federal Judge Charles M. Hough dismissed the indictments. He ruled that the statute applying state law to federal enclaves did not cover a libel published elsewhere but circulated on federal property.[40] The Justice Department appealed to the Supreme Court. Noting that there "is no statute of the United States expressly defining and punishing the crime of criminal libel when committed on a United States reservation,"[41] the Court used narrow statutory grounds to decide the case. The New York statute confined prosecution for criminal libel to the county in which the newspaper was published. Since a federal enclave is outside any county, the Court said, criminal libel prosecutions could be sustained in federal courts only if the newspaper that printed a libel were published on a federal reservation.[42] Thus, the Court upheld the dismissal of the indictments.[43]

The indictments in Washington had kept the*World* and *News* journalists from traveling to the capital for almost two years. After the Supreme Court decision, the Justice Department agreed to the dismissal of those indictments.[44] Although the Court decided the case on interpretation of a statute, the decision was widely heralded as a sweeping victory for freedom of the press.[45] That impression has been sustained. Since then the federal government has not attempted to prosecute a newspaper for libel for the content of its news stories or editorials.[46] One commentator has correctly described

37. Roosevelt to Stimson, 10 Feb. 1909 in Elting L. Morison, *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, vol. 6 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951-54), 1516-1517.
38. Ibid., 1517-1518.
39. Case File, Southern District of New York.
40. *Roosevelt Panama Libel Case Against the New York World and Indianapolis News*, 107-109.
41. U.S. v. Press Publishing Co., 219 U.S. 1, 8 (1911).
42. Ibid., 16.
43. Ibid.,17.
44. Case File, District of Columbia.
45. For a review of press comment, see Peirce, 106-111.
46. The closest any president has come to criminal prosecution of the press is the suppression of revolutionary left, pacifist left, and German and Irish journals during World War I under wartime sedition laws.

Roosevelt's prosecutions as "the last gasp of seditious libel."[47] The legal outcome does not answer why Roosevelt, a veteran player of rough-and-tumble American politics, prosecuted the journalists. As Zachariah Chafee noted, the common law of libel was inherited from Great Britain, but most Americans got on with their lives rather than "hiring a lawyer to talk in the courtroom."[48]

Triggering the prosecutions. When the tempest over the alleged Panama Canal financial scandal broke and the *News*' stories and editorials started to influence political races in Indiana, Roosevelt said privately of Delavan Smith that he "is a lying blackguard, and I have no doubt a corrupt crook."[49] He asserted that the "mere supposition that any American received from the French Government a rake-off is so ludicrous that it is difficult to discuss it with patience."[50] The president avoided any public censure of the stories and editorials. The president claimed he did "not like Delavan Smith, but I like Pulitzer."[51] The comment misstates his view of Pulitzer, with whom he shared a mutual animosity for more than two decades, but it indicates he had no thought of prosecuting journalists.

The results of the election in Indiana appalled Roosevelt, who blamed the *News* and Smith. His indignation exploded in a letter, released to the Associated Press and carried by most of the nation's newspapers, to William Dudley Foulke, an Indiana political ally. Roosevelt assailed as false the *News*' stories and editorials on the canal allegations. He claimed Smith "certainly knew that all the statements he made were false. . .Delavan Smith is a conspicuous offender against the laws of honesty."[52] The *World* jumped to the defense of the *News*. In an editorial written by William McMurtie Speer, the *World* said Roosevelt's statements about the purchase of the French canal assets were "full of flagrant untruths" and "reeking with misstatements."[53]

Roosevelt's broadside against the *News* had been triggered by political anger. Taft had barely carried Indiana and Democrats had won the governor's office, 11 of 13 seats in Congress, and control of the state legislature. That anger was turned into a determination to prosecute by the *World* editorial, which attacked Rossevelt's personal integrity and repeated smears on his family and that of Taft. One day after the editorial appeared, Roosevelt publicly told a

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47. Michael T. Gibson, "The Supreme Court and Freedom of Expression from 1791 to 1917," *Fordham Law Review* 55 (December 1986): 263, 290. The observation is limited to the nation's mainstream print and broadcast media. It is not meant as a judgment of efforts to suppress speech that advocates government change by violence.

48. Zachariah Chafee, *Government and Mass Communications: A Report from the Commission on Freedom of the Press* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 107.

49. Roosevelt to William Dudley Foulke, 24 Oct. 1908, in Morison, *Letters*, 6 1315-1318. Foulke was an Indiana reformer and Roosevelt political ally whom Roosevelt appointed to the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Foulke had once been part-owner and editor of the *Richmond Palladium* and was editor of the *Richmond Evening Item* from 1909 to 1912.

50. Ibid., 1322-1325.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., 1393-1395. The letter was dated 1 Dec. 1908, but it did not appear in the press until 7 Dec. 1908, because Roosevelt believed its release should be cleared with President-elect Taft.

53. *New York World*, 8 Dec. 1908. Some journalism historians have incorrectly attributed authorship of the editorial to Frank I. Cobb.

Washington audience that if "they [the *World* and *News*] can be reached for criminal libel, I shall have them reached."[54] Then he instructed Attorney General Bonaparte to bring criminal libel charges against the principals of the *World* and *News*.[55] He wrote to Stimson and said, "I should dearly like to have it [criminal libel] invoked about Pulitzer. . .Pulitzer is one of these creatures of the gutter of such unspeakable degradation that to him even eminence on a dunghill seems enviable."[56]

That Fairbanks was one of the president's targets was clear from the *New York Times* story on the Roosevelt's statement rapping the *News*. Oscar King Davis, chief Washington correspondent of the *Times* and an intimate of Roosevelt, reported that the president "has taken a slap at the vice president."[57] He wrote:

> What lies behind this in fact is the wrath of the President, the President-elect, and their friends at the fit of sulks displayed by Vice President Fairbanks and his Indiana crowd after the Chicago Convention. Mr. Smith is the cousin of Mr. Fairbanks and the latter is frequently charged with having an interest in the *Indianapolis News*.[58]

Roosevelt believed correctly that Fairbanks was the majority owner of the *News*. His belief that Fairbanks controlled its editorial policies was wrong.

Fairbanks and His Newspaper. Charles Warren Fairbanks was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1872. His first job, in Pittsburgh as a reporter for the Western Associated Press, was provided by William Henry Smith, his uncle and general manager of the wire service. After one year he was transferred to Cleveland where he attended law school while continuing as a reporter. He gave up wire service reporting in 1874 after being admitted to the bar. Fairbanks moved to Indianapolis and established a law practice. He specialized in legal work for bankrupt railroads and shrewdly invested in the securities of railroads. By 1890 he was wealthy and entered politics. The lawyer-capitalist became leader of the Republican Party in Indiana and in 1897 was elected to the U.S. Senate. He was elected vice president in 1904. The Roosevelt-Fairbanks ticket was a marriage of convenience. The conservative Fairbanks was associated with the McKinley-Hanna wing of the GOP. The progressive Roosevelt was a political and ideological ally of Senator Albert J. Beveridge, who headed an anti-Fairbanks wing of Hoosier Republicanism.[59]

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54. *New York Times*, 11 Dec. 1908.
55. Morison, *Letters*, 6, note 1, 1415.
56. Ibid, 1415-1417.
57. *New York Times*, 7 Dec. 1908.
58. Ibid.
59. The best scholarship on Fairbanks' life is Herbert Rissler, "Charles W. Fairbanks: Conservative Hoosier" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1961). See also James H. Madison, "Charles Warren Fairbanks and Indiana Republicanism," in Ralph Gray, ed., *Gentlemen from Indiana: National Party Candidates, 1836-1940* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1977), 173-188, and Clifton J. Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 51-131.

In 1892, with Fairbanks supplying most of the money, William Henry Smith and Fairbanks purchased control of the *Indianapolis News*. Over the years ownership of the newspaper was consolidated by Fairbanks and Delavan Smith, who inherited his father's interest after William Henry Smith's death in 1896. After 1899 Fairbanks owned 75 percent, Delavan Smith held 20 percent, and Charles R. Williams, the son-in-law of William, 5 percent. Delavan Smith purchased Williams' share in 1911.[60] Fairbanks' controlling interest was never publicly disclosed or acknowledged in public records until after he died in 1918.[61] After the death in 1922 of Delavan Smith, Fairbanks' children purchased his 25 percent interest.[62]

The 1890s was still an era of the party press in Indiana. William Henry Smith, who was the first general manager of the modern Associated Press, believed the *News* could become Indiana's most influential and profitable newspaper. His strategy was to operate the newspaper as a politically independent journal. Generally the *News* would be a conservative voice, but it would follow no party line. Among the conditions of the partnership between Smith and Fairbanks were ones that Fairbanks' dominant ownership would be kept secret and editorial independence would be maintained. Neither Smith nor Fairbanks ever acknowledged Fairbanks' ownership. After Fairbanks' death, his ownership was disclosed in court documents.[63]

Fairbanks' increasing political involvement brought an early clash over the agreement. In February, 1895, he complained to William Henry Smith that "I am neither consulted nor are my suggestions invited."[64] Williams replied that "the *News* as an independent paper can help you; as your personal organ it could have no influence. It has been my understanding always that it was not to be known that you have any interest in the paper. I have always acted to that theory."[65]

In late 1895 Fairbanks asked that the *News* become a voice for the policies of Indiana Republicanism. After William Henry Smith refused, Fairbanks said he was embarrassed politically by rumors of his ownership of the newspaper. He suggested a letter to the editor be published explaining his lack of control over editorial policies. Smith refused and wrote:

> When you wrote the letter demanding that the *News* support Republican policies, you had in view your relations to the party which occupied such a large part in your mind, but overlooked other relations to which I wish to call your attention. We grant that the letter would protect you with party

60. Delavan Smith, memo to Internal Revenue Service, 1917, Hilton Ultimus Brown Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. A copy of the purchase agreement between Smith and Williams is in the Brown Papers. After leaving the *News*, Williams completed William Henry Smith's biography of Rutherford B. Hayes. The biography was unfinished when Smith died.

61. U.S. District Court, District of Indiana, Case File, U.S. v. Delavan Smith, 1919, Chicago Branch, National Archives, Chicago, Ill.; *Indianapolis Star*, 6 Sept. 1919.

62. Hilton U. Brown to Warren C. Fairbanks, 22 March 1922, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library; Ferdinand Winter to Brown, 8 Nov. 1922, Brown Papers.

63. Case File, District of Indiana, 1919; *Indianapolis Star*, 28 Oct. 1919.

64. Fairbanks to William Henry Smith, 16 Feb. 1895, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.

65. Williams to Fairbanks, 18 Feb.1895, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.

> workers, but would it with a large and intelligent part of the party. I think not because of these other relations to which I now refer. . . .
>
> When we entered upon the *News* enterprise it was with the high purpose to preserve to the community the benefit of a high-tone independent newspaper. . .You wanted to prevent the property getting into the hands who would ignore its high purpose and be unfriendly to your ideal. You did not care who owned the property so that this was made secure. I should not have taken shares in the enterprise and become in a measure responsible for the tone of the paper if this had not been the purpose. I believed that the *News* run as an independent paper would pay in a double sense: financially and in the reputation of all interested in it.[66]

Smith told Fairbanks that under their ownership circulation had risen from 23,000 to 34,000 copies daily in three years.[67] By the end of 1895, after forty-three months of ownership, the partners had received $250,000 in distributed profits.[68]

Delavan Smith, who represented his father in purchase negotiations, reminded Fairbanks that their agreement provided for management of the *News* independent of political interests and "that you, being a corporation man and politician, should be unknown to the public in connection with it, and the paper should in no way be compromised by your political relations and interests. . .The paper has since been managed strictly in these limits."[69]

The friction continued,[70] and not all of it was over editorial policies. In 1899 the *News*' Washington correspondent complained that Fairbanks had ignored the *News* and had given the rival *Indianapolis Journal* an exclusive story. Delavan Smith, by then publisher of the *News*, chided Fairbanks by writing that "(i)t won't do for you to keep this up as it would give the enemy an advantage and would compel us to rely on the junior senator (Beveridge) for news – which would work to your detriment with the people."[71]

Fairbanks tolerance of the *News*' independence is best explained by family affection. William Henry Smith described Fairbanks as "blood of my blood, bone of my bone."[72] Even when griping about *News*' policies, Fairbanks

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66. William Henry Smith to Fairbanks, 30 Nov. 1895, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.
67. Ibid.
68. William Henry Smith to Fairbanks, n. d. (1895), memo in Brown Papers.
69. Delavan Smith to Fairbanks, 30 Nov. 1895, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.
70. W.J. Richards to Delavan Smith, 21 Sept. 1896, Brown Papers.
71. Delavan Smith to Fairbanks, 23 Nov. 1899, Charles Warren Fairbanks Papers, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. Later, Fairbanks purchased a controlling interest in the *Indianapolis Journal* and acquired a substantial interest in the Star League, publisher of *Star* newspapers in Indianapolis, Muncie and Terre Haute. He also was a creditor of the owner of the *Indiana Sentinel*, the state's major Democratic newspaper, until it was purchased by the *News*.
72. William Henry Smith to Fairbanks, 30 Nov. 1895, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.

wrote to Smith that "my love for you is unabated."[73] The family bond remained firm after William Henry Smith's death and Delavan Smith's accession to the post of publisher. Fairbanks also was satisfied with the financial success of the *News*. The *News* was valued at $250,000 when the Fairbanks and Smith families purchased it. In 1922, four years after Fairbanks' death, it was valued at $3.3 million and had annual profits of $500,000. By 1908, when Fairbanks was seeking the presidency, circulation had risen to 85,000 copies daily and the *News* was Indiana's leading newspaper. Circulation was about 120,000 copies daily in 1922.[74] Moreover, as much as Fairbanks might complain about editorials on policy issues, the *News* never wavered in its support of Fairbanks' political aspirations and of his control of the Indiana Republican Party.

Pressure and Continuing Clashes. By 1906 Fairbanks was seeking the 1908 Republican presidential nomination. The pressures of running for the presidency brought more clashes over *News* editorial policies. The conflict demonstrated anew the vice president's lack of control over those policies.

The *News* had assailed House Speaker Joseph Cannon's opposition to a pure foods and drugs law. Probably convinced that Fairbanks secretly owned the *News*, Cannon persuaded Illinois newspapers to attack the vice president. Fairbanks protested to Williams and said he had "indulged the hope that my friends at home might refrain for a few years at least from attacking my (other) friends. I am helpless and almost hopeless."[75] Williams replied that the *News* had not personally attacked Cannon and claimed Fairbanks' interests would be served best by passage of a pure foods law.[76] So disturbed was Fairbanks that he had U.S. Senator James A. Hemenway, who had succeeded him in the Senate, write to Delavan Smith. Hemenway said that many "hold out the idea that the *News* is a Fairbanks organ and that he inspires and is responsible for what appears in its editorial columns. Unfortunately, we seem to be unable to convince our friends that this is not true."[77]

Fairbanks had been chagrined earlier by *News* editorial assaults on Senators Nelson A. Aldridge of Rhode Island and John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, both members of the Senate's Republican leadership. The newspaper said Aldridge represented the nation's most corrupt interests. It described Spooner as a man of ability, but one beholden to corporation and railroad interests.[78] Complaints of Fairbanks and his allies fell on deaf ears.

In June, 1907, *Collier's Weekly* disclosed as part of a muckraking series on Fairbanks that the vice president owned the *News*.[79] *Collier's* was the first publication to authoritatively disclose Fairbanks' ownership, which had been rumored for many years in Indiana and national political circles. The magazine inaccurately claimed Fairbanks controlled the *News*' editorial policies.

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73. Fairbanks to William Henry Smith, 18 March 1895, William Henry Smith Papers, Indiana Historical Society.
74. Circulation statements are found in Brown Papers.
75. Fairbanks to Williams, 7 June 1906, Delavan Smith Papers, Indiana Historical Society.
76. Williams to Fairbanks, 11 June 1906, Delavan Smith Papers.
77. James A. Hemenway to Delavan Smith, 9 June 1906, Delavan Smith Papers.
78. Rissler, 175.
79. Gardner, Gilson, "The Real Mr. Fairbanks," *Collier's Weekly*, 1 June 1907, 13-16, and 13 July 1907, 14-15, 26. The account of Fairbanks' newspaper ownership was in the 1 June article.

In fact, although the gist of the statements about the vice president's ownership was true, the article was grossly unfair to Fairbanks in its hyperbole and allegations of sinister influence.

The series was written by Gilson Gardner, the chief political writer for Newspaper Enterprise Association and Washington correspondent for the E.W. Scripps newspapers. He also was the national political lobbyist for Scripps.[80] Gardner was knowledgeable about Fairbanks. In 1904, when he was both correspondent for the *Chicago Post* and an aide to Beveridge, Gardner had helped write a profile of Fairbanks.[81] However, the source of most of the information on Fairbanks was Jerry Mathews, former Washington correspondent of the *News*. Mathews had been clerk of the Senate Committee on Public Work and private secretary to Fairbanks.[82] The position gave Mathews access to Fairbanks' private files. The vice president claimed Mathews carried a grudge because Fairbanks had failed to secure a $5,000 federal job for him.[83] Fairbanks made no public statement about the *Collier's* series, but he said privately the portrayal was "an absolute perversion of the truth."[84]

There is no doubt that Roosevelt acquired the information in the *Collier's* series. The president was a reader of the magazine. Once, when *Collier's* published a mildly critical editorial about him, Roosevelt sent an 11-page rebuttal.[85] Moreover, even if the president had not read the series, Gardner was a Roosevelt progressive who spoke often with the president. The Fairbanks series was a likely conversation topic. It is probable that the president at least suspected prior to the series that Fairbanks owned the *News*. Roosevelt maintained correspondence with political allies in Indiana. These allies included Fairbanks' political rival Beveridge, who despaired of his treatment in the Indianapolis press,[86] and such associates from the civil service reform movement as William Dudley Foulke. It is likely that such friends passed along intelligence about Fairbanks' newspaper interests.

Roosevelt's beliefs about Fairbanks and the *News* are apparent in the reporting of Oscar King Davis, chief Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*.[87] Davis was a friend of the president and often exchanged views with him while Roosevelt was signing letters.[88] When Roosevelt informed Congress of

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80. Stephen Ponder, "Gilson Gardner: A Partisan Reporter in the Election of 1912" (Paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Minneapolis, Minn., August 1990); Gilson Gardner, *Lusty Scripps* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1932), 185-186.

81. Ponder, 10, 29. The article was Thomas R. Shipp, "Charles Warren Fairbanks: Candidate for Vice President," *Review of Reviews* , Aug. 1904, 176-181.

82. Mathews later represented such newspapers as the *New York Sun* and *Chicago Daily News* and became a successful Washington lawyer.

83. Fairbanks, unpublished manuscript, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.

84. Ibid. A more general denial is found in Fairbanks to Delavan Smith, 29 June 1907, Delavan Smith Papers.

85. Juergens, 24.

86. John Braeman, *Albert J. Beveridge: American Nationalist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 76-77, 142-143, 187; Claude G. Bowers, *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), 211, 258-259, 296.

87. *New York Times*, 7 Dec 1908.

88. Oscar King Davis, *Released for Publication* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), 128. For a description of Davis' personal contacts with Roosevelt on the Panama libels, see 113-124. Davis became national secretary of the Progressive Party during and after Roosevelt's Bull Moose run for the presidency in 1912.

his intention to prosecute the *World* and *News* journalists, Davis wrote that "the reference to the *Indianapolis News* and Delavan Smith. . .caught the Vice President's attention at once."[89] He reported that Fairbanks left the Senate chamber and "did not return to his place until all the personalities in the message had been passed."[90] Later, the *Times* reported that the federal government had sent a Secret Service agent to Indianapolis in an effort to collect evidence that Fairbanks owned the *News*. The *Times* said that in "the past the Vice President has had heavy interests in Indianapolis newspapers."[91]

The *Indianapolis Star*, in a dispatch by Washington correspondent Louis Ludlow, said it "has been reported to the President many times that Mr. Fairbanks is one of the owners of the *News*."[92] Ludlow wrote that Roosevelt "has had no way of ascertaining the truth or falsity of these reports," but a grand jury probe "will be used to find whether Mr. Fairbanks or members of his immediate family have an interest in the newspaper which the President accuses of having uttered criminal libels."[93]

The stories were based on leaks from the White House or Justice Department, or both, and reflected Roosevelt's beliefs. That stories about the Roosevelt administration mirrored the president's views was certain. Upon assuming office Roosevelt informed newsmen he would be open with them, but they could not quote him directly and could publish only those stories which had his approval.[94] There was a more difficult rule. Journalists had to "have the good sense to know without being told what sort of things were inappropriate to print."[95] Violation of the president's rules could be painful. When Jesse Carmichael, correspondent of the *Boston Herald*, wrote a story that enraged the president, Roosevelt did more than cut off the reporter's Washington sources. He instructed the U.S. Weather Bureau in Boston to refuse to supply the *Herald* with daily weather reports.[96]

The effort to prove that Fairbanks owned the *News* and thereby open the way to prosecute him for criminal libel failed. The *News* was owned as a partnership and that helped conceal Fairbanks' interest. So determined were Fairbanks and Delavan Smith to hide the ownership that in later years, after a federal statute requiring disclosure to postal authorities was passed, the two devised an agreement that gave title to the newspaper to Smith while leaving a 75 percent beneficial ownership with Fairbanks. After Fairbanks' death, the agreement became public and was considered a sham by the Justice Department. As a result Smith was unsuccessfully prosecuted for fraud.[97] The *New York Times* reported in early 1909 that the Justice Department had been unable to prove the vice president's ownership.[98]

Roosevelt misjudged policymaking at the *News*. Smith had worked diligently for Fairbanks' nomination and was bitter when Taft was chosen.

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89. *New York Times*, 16 Dec. 1908.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., 21 Jan. 1909.
92. *Indianapolis Star*, 19 Jan. 1909.
93. Ibid.
94. F. B. Marbut, *News from the Capital* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 170.
95. Juergens, 20.
96. Ibid, 79-80.
97. Case File, District of Indiana, 1919.
98. *New York Times*, 22 Jan. 1909.

However, the *News* was only one of Smith's business interests. He lived in Lake Forest, north of Chicago, and guided the *News* with a loose hand. After the Republican convention, Richard Smith, the newspaper's managing editor, and James Hornaday, its Washington correspondent and political editor, visited Smith at Lake Forest. According to court testimony, Smith said the *News* would support neither Taft nor Democrat candidate William Jennings Bryan. That was the only discussion about editorial policy that editors had with Smith during the campaign.[99] The election eve editorial, as well as other editorials about the alleged Panama Canal scandal, was written by Louis Howland, editorial page editor. Howland testified that he received no directives on whether to write editorials on canal issues and based his writing on wire service stories. Williams read the editorials before publication, but made no changes in their content.[100]

Thus, rather than a Fairbanks-directed political conspiracy, the alleged canal scandal was not even on the decision board for the *News* publisher or its editor. That Roosevelt misjudged the essence of power at the *News* can be understood in the context of journalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Strong-minded owners such as William Randolph Hearst, E.W. Scripps, and Pulitzer personally directed the editorial policies of their newspapers. Major political figures often owned newspapers and subordinated editorial policies to political interests.[101] Roosevelt found it neither plausible or credible that Fairbanks owned the *News* and did not dictate editorial policy. That maintenance of family relationships prevented his vice president from exercising his ownership rights did not occur to Roosevelt.

Joseph Pulitzer's Role. Joseph Pulitzer and the *World* became targets of Roosevelt only after the newspaper assailed Roosevelt's personal integrity. In his message to Congress on the Panama Canal libels, Roosevelt said the "real offender is Mr. Joseph Pulitzer" and called him a "vilifier of the American people, this man who wantonly and wickedly and without one shadow of justification seeks to blacken the character of reputable private citizens."[102] In Washington circles there was no doubt that Roosevelt intended to convict Pulitzer. One confidant wrote that the president and Robinson, his brother-in-law, "think they will put Pulitzer in prison for criminal libel."[103] At the annual dinner of the Gridiron Club, a gathering of the Washington's press elite, Roosevelt said his purpose was to make an example of Pulitzer and Smith for "crooked journalism in deceiving and misrepresenting the people about the

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99. Ewbank, 72. The *News* even saluted Socialist presidential candidate Eugene B. Debs as sincere and visionary, although it said his policies were impractical. *Indianapolis News*, 3 Nov. 1908.

100. Ewbank, 87-88. Although he had no difficulty writing editorials that carried out policies set by Smith or Williams, Howland was a Democrat. He became editor of the *News* in 1911 after Williams retired.

101. Sen. Nelson Aldridge of Rhode Island owned the *Providence Journal* and *Pawtucket Times* and probably had an interest in the *New York Sun*. Ritchie Donald A., *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 182. Ritchie cites other examples.

102. *Congressional Record*, 15 Dec. 1908, 250. The *New York Times* reported that senators greeted the invective "with smiles and open laughter." *New York Times*, 16 Dec. 1908.

103. Archie Butts to Clara Butts, 30 Jan. 1909, in Lawrence F. Abbott, ed., *The Letters of Archie Butts* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1924), 314.

Government."[104] He added that "I will cinch them in the Federal Courts, if I can. If I cannot cinch them there, I will cinch them in the State Courts. But one sure thing is we will cinch them."[105]

In 1908 Pulitzer, owner of the *World* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was one of the giants of American journalism, but he was in his last years. He had purchased the *World* in 1883 and had built it into a powerful and crusading newspaper. During the Spanish-American War the *World* sold more than one million copies on some days. In 1908 the combined circulation of the morning and evening editions exceeded seven hundred thousand copies. The *World*'s exposure of wrongdoing in the insurance industry in 1906 had propelled Charles Evans Hughes into the governorship of New York. By 1908 Pulitzer was blind and living on his seagoing yacht, but he had a secretary read newspapers to him and he was constantly dictating instructions to his editors.[106] Nevertheless, he somehow missed the severe personal consequences of stories about the alleged Panama Canal scandal and its links to the personal families of Roosevelt and Taft.

Pulitzer did notice the stories in October and suggested to Frank I. Cobb, chief editorial writer, that the *World* publish an editorial on the allegations.[107] That editorial was mostly a rehash of speculation about the role of Cromwell, the Wall Street lawyer and an adviser to Taft, in the events leading to the purchase of the French canal assets.[108] When Roosevelt's political salvo against the *News* and Delavan Smith appeared, Pulitzer was meeting with Don C. Seitz, the *World*'s business manager, who had boarded the publisher's yacht at Charleston, S.C. He asked Seitz which newspaper had originally printed the allegations. When told it was the *World*, Pulitzer remarked, "I knew damned well it must be. If there is any trouble, you fellows are sure to be in it."[109]

As Pulitzer came to realize, the *World* had acted irresponsibly in printing the original story and was on the edge of another reckless act as he and Seitz were meeting. That act was publishing the editorial written by Speer that accused Roosevelt of lying about the purchase of the French canal properties. The editorial also said the issue of whether Robinson and Charles P. Taft corruptly enriched themselves "is incidental to the main issue of letting in light."[110] In fact, it was not incidental and the publication of the charges against Robinson and Charles P. Taft was what made the story so newsworthy. The publication of their names placed the *World* on perilous legal ground and fueled Roosevelt's moral indignation.

The story originated when the *World* received a tip that Cromwell had complained to Manhattan District Attorney William Travis Jerome about an alleged blackmail attempt. The *World* was not successful in confirming the tip, but its efforts alerted Cromwell. Jonas Whitley, a publicist for Cromwell and a former *World* reporter, called on Van Hamm, the newspaper's managing editor. Under the impression that the *World* had the story, Whitley told Van Hamm

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104. Reynolds, 710.
105. Ibid.
106. The volume of 1908 and 1909 correspondence in the collections of his papers in the Library of Congress and at Columbia University attests to Pulitzer's continuing micro-management of the *World*.
107. Reynolds, 705, citing an entry in Cobb's diary.
108. *New York World*, 25 Oct. 1908.
109. Seitz, 356; Swanberg, 365-366.
110. *New York World*, 8 Dec. 1908.

about the allegations of a syndicate, the involvement of the president's brother-in-law and the presidential candidate's half-brother and asked that a denial of their truth from Cromwell be printed. Later, Van Hamm showed Whitley a story based on information the Cromwell aide had supplied. The *World* claimed that Whitley had vouched for the truth of the story, including the allegations against Robinson and Charles P. Taft.[111] While the *World* asserted publicly that the genesis of the story lay with Cromwell, Pulitzer knew that the Cromwell's complicity did not relieve the newspaper of legal responsibility. After Roosevelt threatened criminal prosecution, Pulitzer asked Van Hamm what proof the *World* had that Robinson and Charles P. Taft had been members of a syndicate. When Van Hamm replied that the newspaper had none, Pulitzer erupted, "My God! No proof? You print such stories without proof."[112]

Speer, author of the editorial impugning Roosevelt's integrity, had a bitter bias against the president and a long-standing belief that the Panama Canal transaction was corrupt.[113] The editorial was cleverly crafted. While it was unfair and implied corruption through ingenuous use of the public record, it probably was fair comment and not libelous. Under normal circumstances Cobb, as chief of the editorial page, would have toned it down. However, Pulitzer had relieved him of editorial responsibility for the*World*'s stances in the presidential campaign because Cobb favored Taft over Bryan.[114] Because of the conflict over the presidential campaign, it is likely that Cobb was sensitive to making changes in anti-Roosevelt editorials and did not exercise prudent judgment.[115]

There was no fund of goodwill between Roosevelt and Pulitzer that could have averted the confrontation. Instead there was an animosity that extended back twenty-four years. In 1884 the *World* chided Roosevelt, a self-styled reformer, for endorsing Republican James G. Blaine for president.[116] While Roosevelt was police commissioner of New York, the newspaper suggested that he catch traditional criminals and stop wasting resources enforcing blue laws. In 1904 the*World* endorsed Democrat Alton B. Parker for president and a month before the election published an eight-column editorial attack on Roosevelt that was personally signed by Pulitzer. The assaults continued until election day and claimed Roosevelt had been corrupted by corporate contributions.[117] In 1907 the *World* trumpeted a letter written by E.H. Harriman, the railroad baron, in which Harriman described how he raised $260,000 in corporate contributions and how he expected to be consulted on railroad issues and have former U.S. Senator Chauncey Depew named as an ambassador.[118]

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111. U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 301-302; *Roosevelt Libel Case Against the New York World*, 2-4; Seitz, 352-354.

112. Swanberg, 367; Barrett, 233.

113. Speer, an attorney and son of a congressman, gained a reputation as a top-notch political journalist as Albany correspondent for the *New York Sun*. After a stint in New York City government, he joined the *World* in 1904 as an editorial writer.

114. Reynolds, 690-691.

115. Pulitzer placed responsibility for the Panama Canal libels on Van Hamm and Speer. Although both received generous severance pay, their employment contracts were not renewed. Swanberg, 379.

116. *New York World*, 16 Aug. 1884.

117. Juergens, 79.

118. *New York World*, 2 April 1907.

Recognizing the gravity of his and the *World*'s legal exposure, Pulitzer started damage control. The publisher told his editors "(m)uch of what Mr. Roosevelt says is true. The *World* ought not to have made that (Robinson and Charles P. Taft) charge."[119] He instructed Cobb to print a public acceptance of the statements of Robinson and Charles P. Taft that they had not purchased French canal securities.[120] On future stories about the alleged canal scandal, he ordered "restraint, restraint, restraint. Accuracy, accuracy, accuracy."[121] His poor health induced a fear in him that would have been absent in his younger years. Pulitzer said he was "astonished that Mr. Roosevelt is so mad. I am sorry to have made him so angry, but the *World* will continue to criticize and I am preparing to edit the paper from jail."[122] So serious did Pulitzer consider the threat from Roosevelt that he had inquiries made as to which federal prison he would be sent if convicted.[123]

The Justice Department played rough. It placed "an extraordinary number of secret agents upon the *World*'s trail; its mail was opened in the post office; the portfolios of its messengers between New York and Washington were examined and the Pulitzer Building itself filled with spies."[124] The *World* also played rough. After learning that Whitley, the Cromwell publicist, was giving prosecutors adverse information, the *World* attempted to discredit his reputation. The newspaper instigated a charge of theft from the New York Press Club and sought to get him thrown out of the club.[125]

The gravity of the threat did not stop Pulitzer from fighting what he believed was an abuse of presidential power that must not be countenanced. He interpreted Roosevelt's actions as a coercive effort to halt criticism of him by the press. His reaction to Roosevelt's message to Congress was defiance. He ordered the *World* to publish an editorial under the headline, "The *World* Cannot Be Muzzled." The first paragraph read, "Mr. Roosevelt is mistaken. He cannot muzzle the *World*."[126] The defiance was mixed with fear. He asked Cobb to:

> . . .kindly make a personal statement over his own signature asserting that he knows Mr. Pulitzer wants to take responsibility for whatever the paper has done; that Mr. Pulitzer is deeply interested in politics; that Mr. Pulitzer was out of the country when the Panama articles were printed; that he never saw these articles or had any communication about them; that he was in Charleston on his yacht when the editorial broadside appeared.[127]

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119. Memo, 16 Dec. 1908, Pulitzer Papers, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., quoted in Reynolds, 713.
120. Memo to Cobb, 13 Dec. 1908, Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. He repeated the instructions on 18 Jan. 1909.
121. Memo to Cobb, 24 Dec. 1908, Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress.
122. Memo, 15 Dec. 1908, Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress.
123. Seitz, 368; Swanberg, 371.
124. Seitz, 373.
125. Memo by Sam Thomas, attorney and Whitley acquaintance, to Department of Justice, 17 Nov. 1909, Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers.
126. *New York World*, 16 Dec. 1908.
127. Confidential Memo to Cobb, 23 Dec. 1909, Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress.

Later Pulitzer told Cobb it was a myth that "a totally blind man and confirmed invalid can be editor of a paper like the *World* in any responsible sense except the general political principles."[128] He argued that general responsibility "is very different from actually editing or writing or reading a thousand editorials or news articles which I have never read and never had read to me and know nothing about whatsover."[129]

Pulitzer prepared a memo for this attorneys that read:

> 1. I sailed for Europe on 4th January 1908, with the express intention of avoiding the Presidential election campaign. I spent the entire winter at Nice.
>
> 2. About eleven months ago, my yacht "Liberty" was delivered in full commission. She reached Nice on the 1st of April and since that time my home has practically been on the sea on her. . .
>
> 3. Between the 20th June last year, and 3rd November (election day) I crossed the Atlantic three times, the yacht going just as slowly as possible, on the last occasion taking nearly the full month of October – my object being to keep absolutely out of touch with the *World* establishment. The *World* office was particularly forbidden to send me any copy or edition of the paper during the Presidential Campaign. I never was in touch with the managing editor, never communicated with him, never received a word from him, and never used the word Panama during the entire campaign, until the august Chief Magistrate's message to Congress called my attention to the subject sometime in December.
>
> 4. Particularly, I left America on the 13th August and did not return till the 3rd November.
>
> 5. On the 3rd November I arrived in New York in a crippled condition compelling me to stay in bed nearly all the time before I sailed again and to abstain from work.
>
> 6. As soon as I ceased to be bedridden, urged by my physician, I sailed again (about 28th November) going south.
>
> 7. I never heard of the Panama business till December 7th or 8th at Charleston, S.C., when the Charleston *News and Courier* printed the Chief Magistrate's letter mercilessly denouncing Mr. Delavan Smith of the *Indianapolis News*, but not demeaning the *World* in any shape. . .
>
> 8. While I was at sea on my way between Charleston and New York, in absolute and utter ignorance, the editorial

128. Memo to Cobb, 26 Jan. 1909, Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress.
129. Ibid.

> appeared in the *World* assailing Chief Magistrate Roosevelt's veracity on this subject. That editorial (which started both Mr. Roosevelt's personal attack in his Special Message, and the Government Prosecution) of course I had nothing whatever to do with it, and never read or heard of it for several days after my arrival in New York on December 10th.
>
> 9. The Special Message of the august Chief Magistrate presenting my name in connection with this so-called libel on the Government was the first intimation I had of any possibility of my name being connected with that to me utterly unknown subject. . .[130]

The memo stretched the truth about Pulitzer's knowledge, but his quest to absolve himself did convince Stimson not to seek an indictment against the publisher in New York. Roosevelt acceded reluctantly to Stimson's judgment.[131] However, Bonaparte and Daniel W. Baker, the U.S. attorney in Washington, agreed with Roosevelt and obtained an indictment for criminal libel in the District of Columbia.[132]

Aftermath and Conclusions. The Panama Canal criminal libel prosecutions reflect the misperceptions of Theodore Roosevelt. He mistakenly believed that Vice President Fairbanks and Joseph Pulitzer were personally responsible for smearing his personal and official families. The record demonstrates conclusively that Roosevelt was wrong. Fairbanks owned but did not control the editorial policies of the *Indianapolis News*. Blind, ill, and aboard his yacht at sea, Pulitzer did not conceive or encourage the publication of the libels or the attacks on Roosevelt's integrity. Roosevelt acted upon his misperceptions. As long as he believed his target was Fairbanks, the president was satisfied with political broadsides. Once he perceived that Pulitzer had stained his personal honor, the angry president turned to the use of his enormous prosecutorial powers. The *World* and *News* violated elementary journalistic canons of fairness and accuracy, but their owners had not personally directed assaults on the president. The power to put people in jail is awesome, and so angry was Roosevelt that he tried to use it. The fact that he failed does not remove the fear that the threat of wielding such power generates. The prosecutions were contrary to tradition and a challenge to press freedom. Most of the American press said so editorially.[133]

At the time there were currents that suggested the legal climate would not favor the *World* and *News* journalists. Less than two years before the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld the contempt conviction of U.S. Senator Thomas Patterson, publisher of the *Rocky Mountain News*, for editorially criticizing the

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130. Memo, 10 Feb. 1909, Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress.

131. Roosevelt to Stimson, 13 Feb. 1909, in Morison, *Letters*, 6, 1517-1518. Stimson's decision was based on his legal judgment. He was appalled at what he believed to be the sensationalism of newspapers. Earlier Stimson had prosecuted James Gordon Bennett Jr., owner of the *New York Herald*, for running ads promoting prostitution and had unsuccessfully urged Elihu Root to prosecute Hearst's *Evening Journal* for libel.

132. Case File, District of Columbia.

133. Excerpts of press opinion, *Literary Digest*, 19 and 26 Dec. 1908, and 30 Jan. and 27 Feb. 1909.

Colorado Supreme Court.[134] In rejecting Patterson's defense that the criticism was true, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said press freedom barred prior restraints but does "not prevent the subsequent punishment of such that may be deemed contrary to the public welfare. . .the subsequent punishment may extend as well to the true as to the false."[135] State criminal prosecutions had risen steadily from the late 1860s to the early 1900s.[136] Roosevelt caught the temper of the times when he invented the title of muckrakers for the crusading magazine writers of the first decade of the twentieth century.[137]

Had Roosevelt been content to let Robinson and Charles P. Taft seek prosecutions or sue for money damages in state courts, the president would have been vindicated. Neither man had speculated in French canal securities and the suggestions that their alleged syndicate had shared profits with Roosevelt administrations officials likely would have brought criminal convictions and/or recovery of civil damages. The *World* conceded the two men were innocent of wrongdoing. No evidence was ever presented that an American syndicate reaped huge profits. Modern archival research has found that some American bankers and businessman made a profit from the sale of the French properties to the United States, but there is no evidence of a syndicate that reaped huge profits or that any of the speculators engaged in corrupt behavior.[138] The president's effort to use the federal courts elevated a newsworthy libel case into a constitutional confrontation. It represented poor judgment by Roosevelt and a stain on his record.

Roosevelt and Pulitzer never reconciled. The publisher died in 1911 shortly after the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the*World*. When a *World* reporter asked for his comment on the decision, he replied tersely, "I have nothing to say."[139] Fairbanks exacted retribution in 1912 when Roosevelt and Taft were both running for president against Woodrow Wilson. Although the elder statesman of Hoosier Republicanism, Fairbanks rode with Wilson to downtown Indianapolis when he campaigned in Indiana. In 1916 Roosevelt vetoed the nomination of Fairbanks[140] and paved the way for Charles Evans Hughes as the Republican presidential candidate. Fairbanks became the vice presidential nominee in his last hurrah in politics.

Fairbanks triggered a reconciliation in 1918 when the nation was engaged in World War I. Writing from what he described as the secrecy of his drawing room, Fairbanks condemned Wilson's war leadership and said that "there is but one natural candidate for our leadership in the next national election and that is your good self."[141] Roosevelt replied, "I thank you from the bottom of

134. Patterson v. Colorado, 205 U.S. 454 (1907).
135. Ibid., 462.
136. John D. Stevens, "Criminal Libel as Seditious Libel, 1916-1965," *Journalism Quarterly* 43 (1966): 110-111. See also Timothy W. Gleason, "Our Abominable Libel Laws" (Paper presented to the West Coast Journalism Historians Conference, San Francisco, Cal., February 1989).
137. Juergens, 77.
138. Robert L. Spellman, "But Who Got the Money? Some Answers to the Panama Libel Question" (Paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Montreal, Quebec, 7 Aug. 1992).
139. *Roosevelt Panama Libel Case*, 82.
140. George E. Mowry, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1947), 352.
141. Fairbanks to Roosevelt, 30 April 1918, Fairbanks Collection, Lilly Library.

my heart."[142] The deaths of both men within one year prevented two old warhorses from reentering the political arena. There had been a decade of animosity between the two men because Roosevelt failed to understand the *News* and launched a needless constitutional battle over press freedom.

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142. Roosevelt to Fairbanks, 4 May 1918, ibid.

Delilah Beasley: A Black Woman Journalist Who Lifted as She Climbed

by Rodger Streitmatter

Beasley, first woman of her race to write regularly for the white press, doggedly pursued a journalistic career with a spiritual zeal, using her journalistic platform to promote a positive image of African Americans

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many black Americans adopted a social and political philosophy characterized by moderation, pacifism, and accommodation to white America. Adherents to this philosophy believed that, because it was a time during which most whites considered blacks only slightly more advanced than animals, the most realistic course toward improved conditions for Americans of African descent was a pathway marked by gradualism and an emphasis on cooperation and mutuality of interests between the races. Booker T. Washington, president of Tuskegee Institute, was a leading spokesman for these views. He publicly accepted Jim Crow laws and set forth a conciliatory policy with respect to civil rights. Washington articulated his views and sought public support in the white press. Although editors of mainstream newspapers previously had largely excluded African American voices from their pages, they embraced the moderate philosophy and the black leaders who touted it.[1]

Delilah Beasley was an African American woman journalist who supported accommodation. Beasley promoted her beliefs through news articles and a community column that she wrote for the white press, becoming the first woman of her race to write regularly for the mainstream American press.[2]

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1. On Washington and the accommodationist philosophy, see Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), 633-38; W. Augustus Low and Virgil A. Clift, eds., *Encyclopedia of Black America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981), 85, 839-45; Harry A. Ploski and James Williams, eds., *The Negro Almanac: A Reference Work on the African American*, 5th ed. (New York: Gale Research, 1989), 301.

2. The first black man to work for a mainstream newspaper was T. Thomas Fortune, who joined the editorial staff of the *New York Evening Sun* in the early 1880s. See I.

Through her work, Beasley attempted to improve white America's perception of blacks by presenting positive images of African Americans, while at the same time downplaying the inequities that they faced and shunning controversial issues. She wrote of herself: "The writer will work for a 'better racial understanding' by giving to the reading public a knowledge of the efforts, ability and progress of the Negro peoples throughout the world."[3] Beasley pursued her newspaper crusade – despite minimal education, recurring health problems, and economic deprivation – because she felt a spiritual calling to it. Following that calling not only allowed Beasley, a devout Catholic, to climb to professional heights, but it also opened the door for other African American journalists to follow in her footsteps.

Despite her contributions to the accommodationist philosophy and to American journalism, Beasley has been heretofore overlooked by journalism historians.[4] In addition, biographical details about her are limited.[5] Some five hundred published newspaper articles and columns that she wrote, however, document the highlights of her life and provide insights into her journalistic motivations. Close analysis of these sources paint a portrait of a pioneering African American woman journalist who lifted her race as she climbed to local and national prominence.

The journalistic work of Delilah Beasley, who never married, was concentrated into two distinct phases. As an adolescent and teenager in Ohio in

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Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, Mass.: Willey, 1891), 137.

3. Delilah L. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 4 Jan. 1931, T-7.

4. Beasley is not mentioned in the standard American journalism histories, such as Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 7th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992) or Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: MacMillan, 1994). Nor is she mentioned in the standard histories of the African-American press, Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, 2nd ed. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990) or Clint C. Wilson II, *Black Journalists in Paradox: Historical Perspectives and Current Dilemmas* (New York: Greenwood, 1992). Neither is Beasley mentioned in works containing profiles of nineteenth century black women journalists, such as Martin E. Dann, "Women as Journalists," in *The Black Press 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), 61-67; Penn, "Afro-American Women in Journalism," in *Afro-American Press*, 367-427; Gertrude Bustill Mossell, "Our Women in Journalism," in *The Work of the Afro-American Woman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, originally published in 1894), 98-103; Lucy Wilmot Smith, "Woman's Number," *The Journalist* 7, 26 January 1889, 4-6; or J. William Snorgrass, "Pioneer Black Women Journalists from the 1850s to the 1950s," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 6(Fall 1982), 150-58.

5. A sketch of Beasley's life was published in the history of the National Association of Colored Women by Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, *Lifting as They Climb* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1933), 188-95. Later sketches have been based largely on that material. They include Lorraine J. Crouchett, "Delilah Leontium Beasley" in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*. vol. 1 (New York: Carlson, 1993), 98-99; Sylvia G.L. Dannett, *Profiles of Negro Womanhood*, vol. 1, 1619-1900 (New York: M.W. Lads, 1964), 224-25; Richard H. Dillon, *Humbugs and Heroes: A Gallery of California Pioneers* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 32-36; Robert L. Johns, "Delilah Leontium Beasley," in Jessie Carney Smith, ed., *Notable Black American Women* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), 72-74; Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 34-35.

the 1880s, Beasley wrote community-oriented items for African American as well as mainstream newspapers. As a middle-aged adult thirty years later, she began her most substantive journalistic contribution by writing a Sunday column that appeared in the *Oakland Tribune*, then the largest daily newspaper in Northern California.[6]

The column, titled "Activities Among Negroes," expanded the definition of mainstream press coverage of African Americans. I. Garland Penn, a historian of black journalism, wrote of the mainstream press at the turn of the century: "Nothing is seen about the Afro-American, save his record in some court."[7] Beasley refused to accept this journalistic convention, choosing instead to depict the positive characteristics and meritorious accomplishments of her people.

Beasley's positive portrayal emerged through several themes that she wove into her columns. For example, she consistently described Americans of African descent as possessing a rich history as well as a strong moral fiber.[8] She also painstakingly documented the achievements of individual black women and men, creating African
American role models for black readers while simultaneously demonstrating to white readers that blacks were both able and resourceful.[9]

Beasley's life and work are further illuminated by examining what she did *not* write about. For during a time when African Americans were suffering wholesale mistreatment, Beasley did not report cases of racial injustice or discrimination. Although it is unclear whether Beasley chose to exclude these topics or was forced to make this compromise in order to break new ground as a black woman writing for the white press, an analysis of her journalistic experience is enhanced by considering some of the events and issues that were absent from her work.

Other important themes in Beasley's life involved activities that extended beyond journalism. In the tradition of Washington, Beasley became a civil rights activist who emphasized cooperation between the races, initially promoting inter-racial activities in her column and then organizing such activities herself.[10] Finally, in a notable departure from Washington, Beasley

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6. Letter to the author from Steven LaVoie, 27 Sept. 1990. LaVoie is assistant librarian at the *Oakland Tribune*. The *Tribune* had been founded in 1874 and became known as an innovative and crusading newspaper. By 1914, the *Tribune*'s circulation exceeded 25,000. See Harry Martin, "The *Tribune*'s 100th Year," *Oakland Tribune*, 1 Jan. 1974, 1; Leonard Verbarg, "Century of Accomplishment," *Oakland Tribune*, 21 Feb. 1974, K-1.

7. Penn, *Afro-American Press*, 517.

8. Washington also stressed the centrality of moral advancement in the march toward African American progress. Likewise, he and Beasley both emphasized that the black person's strong moral fiber inevitably led to the undertaking of self-help activities. See Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 636; Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia*, 840; Ploski and Williams, *Almanac*, 301.

9. Washington also stressed the importance of building character within the African American population, stressing the opportunities open to African American women and men rather than the grievances of the race. See Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia*, 841-42. Wolseley identified stories about positive achievements of blacks as one of the staples in the black press. See Wolseley, *Black Press*, 197.

10. Washington also took his philosophy to black and white audiences through speeches. While on the lecture circuit, he reiterated his educational and racial philosophy. He was popular among white audiences as he punctuated his

undertook a crusade to eliminate derogatory terms from mainstream jouranlism. Through her efforts, the words "darkey," "pickaninny," and "nigger" began to fade from the American newspaper.[11]

Although it is impossible to gauge Beasley's direct impact, as it is with the work of most journalists, her obituary indicates that Beasley's writing was central to the evolution of her community and her race. In summarizing Beasley's columns and news articles for the *Oakland Tribune*, the obituary stated: "It was through her writings that the racial relations were eased greatly in this cosmopolitan city. Her articles on activities among Negroes served as an educational contact [and] were unsurpassed."[12]

Delilah Leontium Beasley was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 9 September 1871. She was the oldest of five children born to Daniel Beasley, an engineer, and Margaret Harris Beasley, a homemaker. Delilah attended Cincinnati public schools.[13]

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presentations with humorous stories that depicted blacks as lovable, shiftless, and ignorant, yet shrewd. See Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 634.

11. During speeches, Washington frequently amused his white audiences by telling stories about "darkeys." See Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 634.

12. Beasley obituary, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Clipping File, New York Public Library. The copy is marked "Los Angeles, August 31, 1934," but the publication in which it appeared is not identified. The obituary did not appear in the *Los Angeles Times*, *Los Angeles Evening Herald Express*, or *New York Times*. It is likely that the obituary appeared in a California newspaper that has not been preserved.

13. Biographical information about Beasley has been gleaned from several sources. In 1920 Beasley completed a researcher's identification card that has been preserved in the Biographical Card File, California Section, California State Library, Sacramento. Four letters and four post cards written by Beasley to Elizabeth Loomis are part of the Francis B. Loomis Papers at Stanford University. Elizabeth Loomis was the wife of Francis B. Loomis, who worked in the press operation for the presidential campaigns of James G. Blaine in 1884, Benjamin Harrison in 1888, and William McKinley in 1902. Loomis's journalistic credits include working as a reporter for the *New York Tribune* and *Philadelphia Press*, editor of the *Cincinnati Daily Tribune*, and general manager of the *Oakland Tribune*. According to the preface of Beasley's book, Loomis hired her to write for the *Tribune*. The Loomis Papers are in the Department of Special Collections at Stanford University Libraries. Another source is the social service records held by Fairmont Hospital, the San Leandro, California, hospital where Beasley died. An obituary about Beasley is in the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Clipping File at the New York Public Library. Results of recent research on Beasley's involvement in local activities in Oakland are an article and a sixty-page book about her by Lorraine J. Crouchett. The article, "Delilah Beasley, Trail Blazer," *Oakland Heritage Alliance News* 4 (Winter 1988-89): 1-6, and book, *Delilah Leontium Beasley: Oakland's Crusading Journalist* (El Cerrito, Calif.: Downey Place, 1990), concentrate on Beasley's work as a local activist. Previously published works have disagreed on the year of Beasley's birth. Her 1934 obituary, for example, states that she was born in 1876. Census data, on the other hand, indicate she was born in 1867. See 1880 U.S. Census for Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio, Roll 1025, Enumeration District 129, 46. The hand-written census data are preserved at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The author believes the most authoritative sources for Beasley's date and place of birth are the Biographical Card File and the social service records because the information was written in Beasley's own hand.

She began her newspaper career in 1883 when, at the age of twelve years, she wrote brief items about church and social activities for the *Cleveland Gazette*, an African American newspaper.[14] Because many journalists of the era used pen names, it is impossible to identify the specific items that she wrote for the *Gazette*.

Beasley first reported for a mainstream newspaper in 1886 when, at the age of fifteen, she began sending items to the Sunday edition of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, a regional daily newspaper. Beasley's specific articles in the *Enquirer*, like those in the *Gazette*, cannot be identified.[15]

But Beasley's education and nascent journalism career were disrupted by the deaths of both of her parents. It is not known in what year her parents died, but it probably was in the early 1880s, when Delilah was still a teenager, as the 1880 census classified both of her parents in the category of "bedridden or disabled."[16] After the parents died, the children were scattered to different households, and young Delilah was forced to seek immediate full-time employment.

She worked first as a domestic for a white judge in Cincinnati.[17] She then worked as a masseuse in Chicago and trained in hydrotherapy, medical gymnastics, and diagnosis. Beasley moved to New York state to join the staff of the Buffalo Sanitarium and specialize in giving massages to pregnant women. Advancing in the field, she became the head masseuse at a bathhouse that operated in conjunction with a Michigan resort.

By the turn of the century, Beasley had developed an intense interest in the history of her race. After beginning research in the Midwest, she came to believe that the most overlooked concentration of African Americans was in California. So, in 1910, Beasley moved to Berkeley to serve as a nurse for a former therapy patient and to begin in earnest the research necessary to create a history of California's black pioneers.[18]

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14. The *Gazette*, the first black newspaper in Cleveland, was founded 25 Aug. 1883. During its first twenty years, the *Gazette* maintained an average size of four pages and an average circulation of five thousand. The *Gazette* ceased publication in 1945. See David D. Van Tassel and John J. Grabowski, *Encyclopedia of Cleveland's History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).

15. The author has searched for Beasley's work in every Sunday edition of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* from 1886 to 1892 but has identified no items that can be attributed to her. The *Enquirer* was a daily newspaper founded in 1841; by the 1880s it was a major regional newspaper. It published sixteen pages each day, covering Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. The *Enquirer* also covered national news and published weekly columns from correspondents in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. The *Enquirer* had the reputation of being courageous, liberal, and ultra progressive, and publisher John R. McLean was known for his insistence upon providing a newspaper for all classes. See Francis L. Dale, *The Cincinnati Enquirer: The Extended Shadows of its Publishers* (New York: Newcomen Society in North America, 1966), 5, 20.

16. 1880 U.S. Census.

17. Washington also spent his early years serving white men and women. His earliest training was as a slave and house servant. See Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 633; Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia*, 840, 843; Ploski and Williams, *Almanac*, 301.

18. See Beasley, *The Negro Trail Blazers of California* (Los Angeles: 1919), preface; Davis, *Lifting*, 189-90.

After devoting nine years to writing the manuscript, Beasley was unsuccessful in convincing a publishing company to accept it. In 1919, Beasley finally borrowed money to pay a printer to publish the book, even though taking this action placed her in debt for the next three years.[19]

The Negro Trail Blazers of California became the first history of the state's African American population.[20] In the three-hundred-page volume, Beasley chronicled the evolution of African Americans in California from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries. She stressed the achievements of individual women and men, with more than half the book consisting of biographical sketches.

Because Beasley published the book herself, she also was responsible for marketing it. In 1922, she gave up her job in Oakland and devoted six months to full-time marketing of the book. Although she called on libraries and individuals in California, Illinois, and Ohio, the book never achieved mass sales.[21]

Money was a continual problem for Beasley. Her vocation as a physical therapist was financially lucrative, but her travel to research her book and her column prevented her from maintaining a steady clientele.[22] The *Tribune* paid her only ten dollars a week for her column, and she committed ten cents from that meager amount to the Community Chest. Beasley lived in a single rented room. When she died, her only tangible asset was a bank account containing $100.33.[23]

Beasley also was plagued by recurring health problems. In the preface to her book, she wrote that she had been "in very serious ill health" for many months.[24] Specific illnesses mentioned in her correspondence and medical records included high blood pressure, heart trouble, and chronic hearing problems.[25]

In addition to being dedicated to journalism, Beasley also devoted a great deal of her energy and resources to feminism. The National Association of Colored Women became a significant part of her life. She was actively involved

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19. Letter, Beasley to Elizabeth Loomis, 25 June 1922, Loomis Papers.
20. Lonnie Isabel, "Bay Area's own leaders offer hope for the future," *Oakland Tribune*, 23 Jan. 1989, 1.
21. Letters, Beasley to Elizabeth Loomis, 25 June 1922; 15 Sept. 1922; 5 Nov. 1922, Loomis Papers.
22. The Loomises provided Beasley with occasional financial supplements. When she lost her eye glasses, for example, the Loomises sent her money to replace them. Likewise, when she dropped her typewriter, they sent her money to repair it. It probably was the Loomises who loaned Beasley the money to have her book printed, as her correspondence to them included updates on how much money she had made in book sales and repeated declarations that she hoped to repay her debt soon. See correspondence, Beasley to Elizabeth Loomis, 27 Dec. 1922 letter and undated post card, Loomis Papers.
23. Beasley's social service records at Fairmont Hospital, sheet marked "social service data," dated 13 March 1934.
24. Beasley, *Trail Blazers*, preface.
25. Correspondence, Beasley to Elizabeth Loomis, 15 Sept. 1922 letter and undated post card, Loomis Papers; Beasley's social service records at Fairmont Hospital, sheet marked "Admissions Record," dated 23 Feb. 1934.

in the Oakland chapter and rose to the position of national historian for the association.[26]

Beasley's other major feminist commitment was to the League of Women Voters, serving as vice-president of the Alameda County chapter. In 1925, she became the first member of the chapter to attend the National League of Women Voters convention, held in Richmond, Virginia. While on the East Coast, Beasley also attended the convention, held in Washington, D.C., of the International Council of Women.[27]

In recognition of her contributions, young women in Oakland formed a community-service club named for Beasley. Members defined their purpose by choosing words to correspond to each letter in the name D-E-L-I-L-A-H L. B-E-A-S-L-E-Y: Deeds Ever Lasting In Lending A Hand. Let's Be Ever Alert Serving Lovingly Every Year.[28]

But Beasley left her most significant legacy in her newspaper columns. After she died of heart disease on 18 August 1934, community leaders suggested that copies of her column be compiled as a book.[29] The suggestion was never acted upon, however, and for the next half century historians largely ignored her work.

After Beasley moved from Ohio to California to begin her book, the catalyst for resuming her newspaper career was D.W. Griffith's 1914 motion picture "The Clansman," which later was retitled, "Birth of a Nation." The epic film portrayed slaves as happy and carefree, while depicting black freed men as drunken savages who raped white women.[30]

Beasley found "The Clansman" insulting to her race. But rather than joining other Oakland blacks who attacked the film directly, she chose an indirect strategy, using her writing to attempt to counteract the falsehoods portrayed on film. Her first article appeared in the *Tribune* in June 1915. In the article, she summarized Washington's criticism of the motion picture.[31]

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26. The National Association of Colored Women was a nationwide network of clubs for black women. It was organized in 1896 and quickly grew to fifty thousand women in more than a thousand clubs. The association initiated social reforms in education, labor, health, and public utilities in African American communities. See Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), 93-117, 135-36, 349; Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 107-08.

27. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 15 March 1925, X-8; 10 May 1925, B-2; 24 May 1925, B-3.

28. Lena M. Wysinger, "Activities Among Negroes; In Memoriam – Miss Delilah L. Beasley," *Oakland Tribune*, 14 Oct. 1934, B-5.

29. Wysinger, B-5.

30. African-American residents of Oakland, enraged by the film, attempted to secure a court injunction to prevent local theaters from showing it. Despite protests and legal efforts, the motion picture ran for three weeks and later returned for another six weeks. See *Oakland Tribune*, "Colored Residents to Protest 'The Clansman,' " 9 May 1915, 28; "Court Asked to Stop `Clansman,'" 15 May 1915, 3; " 'The Clansman,' Not Estopped by Court," 17 May 1915, 1; "Davie Fails to Stop 'Clansman,' " 10 Aug.1915, 7.

31. Beasley, "G.A.R. Men Score 'Clansman' Play," *Oakland Tribune*, 7 June 1915, 5.

A few weeks later, Beasley for the first time articulated her journalistic mission. In an article for the *Oakland Sunshine*, a black newspaper, Beasley stated that she had tailored the *Tribune* article for white readers, deleting comments from Washington that she feared would have caused white readers to criticize him. Specifically, Beasley omitted Washington's recommendation that African Americans organize their opposition to "The Clansman" before it opened in Oakland. He had said that once theater owners began advertising the motion picture, ticket sales would have been so strong that protesters would never have convinced the profit-seeking white theater owners to halt the showing of the epic motion picture.[32]

After confessing that she had censored Washington's words, Beasley continued: "News of special interest to us as a people ought to be discussed in our own papers among ourselves. But, if a bit of news would have a tendency to better our position in the community, then it should not only be published in our own race papers, but in the papers of the other race as well."[33]

This statement clearly described Beasley's journalistic mission. She used her position on the staff of a leading white newspaper to crusade to change how white readers perceived African Americans. The statement also is significant because it documented that her journalistic tack was the product of calculation rather than accident.

Beasley's column began appearing regularly in Sunday editions of the *Tribune* in September 1923. "Activities Among Negroes" carried a distinctive, two-column heading that included "By Delilah L. Beasley" in a stylized typeface and generally measured eight to twelve column inches. Appearing on an inside page of the local news section, the column usually consisted of six to ten independent news items.

The writing style was straightforward and journalistic, without literary flourishes. Typical were statements such as: "One hundred Negro children will receive toys and candy this afternoon at the Christmas party to be held in the social hall of St. Patrick's Catholic Church," and "Mrs. G.C. Coleman, during the past ten days, has entertained twenty-four friends from the East."[34]

Beasley did not confine herself to activities in Oakland. She also reported events taking place in the black communities of cities as distant as Boston and Washington, D.C. She gleaned many items from black newspapers sent to her from around the country.[35] She collected other items first hand from contacts that she developed while marketing her book in the Midwest and attending women's club conventions in the East.[36]

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32. Beasley, "Colored Race at the Exposition," *Oakland Sunshine*, 26 June 1915, 2.
33. Beasley, "Colored Race at the Exposition," *Oakland Sunshine*, 26 June 1915, 2.
34. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 18 Dec. 1927, A-21; 30 Sept. 1923, B-3.
35. Among the African American newspapers from which Beasley obtained information were the *Boston Guardian*, *Chicago Defender*, *Detroit Independent*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, and *Seattle Searchlight*. She also used items from such magazines as *Crisis* (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), *National Notes* (National Association of Colored Women), and *Opportunity* (National Urban League).
36. Letter, Beasley to Elizabeth Loomis, 5 Nov. 1922, Loomis Papers. The Alameda County League of Women Voters elected Beasley to represent them at the 1925

After a tornado struck St. Louis, Beasley gave her readers details that other mainstream newspapers had neglected to report – that half the homes destroyed had been occupied by African Americans. She wrote:

> The two and three story dwellings were of red pressed brick, well kept small front grounds and in many instances newly painted, and none had been owned over seven years. But today the district has the appearance of a war-torn sector that had suffered bombarding by an air force.[37]

Throughout her column, Beasley placed considerable emphasis on promoting the heritage of her race. Like generations of black Americans who have followed her, she saw the value of recording African American history to increase blacks' self-esteem, pride, and sense of community.

When Beasley described her visit to Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn., for example, she told readers that African American students had raised the money to construct the first building on campus. In 1871, according to her column, the students formed a singing group that traveled to Europe and sang before England's Queen Victoria.[38] Beasley related similar historical details about African American missionary societies, sororities, and fraternities.[39]

Another recurring theme in "Activities Among Negroes" was the portrayal of African Americans' strong sense of morality and civic responsibility, which prompted them to undertake social-service and social-welfare projects.

Virtually every column included items about black churches, as well as organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, and National Association of Colored Women.[40] Descriptions of the activities of such organizations gave Beasley the opportunity to sprinkle her column with not-so-subtle praise for her race, such as: "The negro, either as an individual or a race, does not give up in despair, because of the failure of any adventure, if he thinks it will help his race to advance."[41]

Typical of the successful ventures that Beasley documented were that Pullman porters in Los Angeles had created a fund to pay one thousand dollars to the widow and children of any porter who died, that a Detroit civic group had created a summer camp for inner-city black children, and that California black women's clubs had raised money to restore the Frederick Douglass home in Washington, D.C.[42]

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convention of the National League of Women Voters in Richmond, Va. Beasley also attended the 1925 convention of the International Council of Women in Washington, D.C. During the same trip, Beasley traveled to and wrote her column from Baltimore, Chicago, New York City, Cincinnati, and El Paso, Texas.

37. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 23 Oct. 1927, A-15.
38. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 13 Nov. 1927, M-6.
39. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 16 Oct. 1927, B-2; 20 Dec. 1925, B-2; 24 August 1930, O-6; 11 Jan. 1925, B-3.
40. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 14 June 1925, B-8; 23 July 1933, T-7; 9 Aug. 1925, A-12; 16 July 1933, S-6; 6 Dec. 1925, B-3.
41. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 25 Jan.1925, A-15.
42. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 8 Feb. 1925, B-6; 5 April 1925, A-16; 12 April 1925, B-11; 19 Nov. 1933, T-9.

The most prominent theme in Beasley's column was highlighting African American role models. Beasley incorporated dozens of mini-profiles into her column to praise blacks who had achieved success in a wide range of endeavors. These descriptions demonstrated to white and black readers alike that members of the race could excel in virtually any pursuit – if allowed that opportunity.

Illustrative of the hundreds of individuals Beasley spotlighted was Mary Grases, the first African American teacher in Oakland public schools. Beasley wrote:

> Mrs. Grases has lived a life of service for her race. She has been a member of the choir of Fifteenth Street A. M. E. Church for thirty years. She helped to establish and was for years the financial secretary for the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored People.[43]

Most of the role models who appeared in the column were women, whom Beasley routinely referred to as "women of distinction." Specific women Beasley praised included the first to earn a master's degree in music, to be admitted to the California bar, and to become an aviator.[44]

While Beasley painstakingly detailed the successes of her African American sisters and brothers, she failed to document the abuses that impeded their progress. Although it borders on speculation to suggest that Beasley's editors forced this limitation on her, it strains the limits of logic to assume that the first black woman in the history of American journalism to write regularly for a white newspaper also coincidentally was the one who departed from her predecessors in the black press – which always had been a protest press – and *voluntarily* ignored the injustices that blacks were suffering.

It seems more likely that Beasley was advised by her white editors that she would be allowed to write the ground-breaking column if the content of that column focused not on controversial topics but on positive ones. Indeed, it may well be that Beasley was specifically chosen as the first of her race and gender to write such a column precisely *because* of her accommodationist philosophy.

Regardless of the details of the arrangement negotiated between Beasley and her white editors, the abuses being suffered by blacks at the time were so extensive that there is no question that Beasley consciously chose to keep them from her column.

One dramatic method of gaining a sense of how blacks were treated in the early twentieth century is to consider the material that dominated the pages of another California newspaper at the same time that Beasley was writing her column.

By the 1920s, the *California Eagle*, founded in Los Angeles in 1879, had become the largest and most prominent African American newspaper on the

43. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 2 Dec. 1923, B-3.
44. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 29 March 1925, X-7; 16 Sept. 1923, B-4; 11 Jan.1931, O-6.

West Coast. Nicknamed the "Soaring *Eagle*," the weekly newspaper was owned, published, and edited by Charlotta and Joseph Bass.[45]

The pages of the fiercely militant newspaper became a forum for blistering attacks on white society. In particular, the newspaper exposed examples of blatant job discrimination based on race. In 1919, for example, the *Eagle* reported that the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors refused to hire African Americans to work at the county hospital.[46] In similar crusades, the Basses exposed unfair hiring practices in such behemoths as the motion picture industry, Los Angeles City Fire Department, Southern California Telephone Company, and Boulder Dam.[47] The newspaper also exposed criminal activity by the Ku Klux Klan and by individuals who continued to treat blacks like slaves.[48]

While Delilah Beasley was never militant in her approach to social change, she was a civil rights activist. Hers was the subtle style of an integrationist who sought improved conditions for her people not through dissidence or direct confrontation, but through quiet diplomacy.

The most frequent form of Beasley's activism was her promotion and orchestration of integrated activities. She wrote: "The one object of this column has always been to create a better understanding between races."[49] To this end, Beasley dotted her column with accolades for the white residents of her city. Typical were comments such as: "Oakland is one of the greatest cities in America today in regard to race relations," and "The splendid white citizens here are ever willing to cooperate for a better understanding and the uplift of the colored race."[50]

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45. The best source of information about the *California Eagle* is a book self-published by owner Charlotta A. Bass, *Forty Years: Memoirs From The Pages Of A Newspaper* (Los Angeles: 1960).

46. Charlotta A. Bass, *California Eagle*, "Why Has Not the Board of Supervisors," 8 March 1919, 4; "Colored Girls Enter County Hospital," 13 Sept. 1919, 1; Helen Taylor, "It's the *California Eagle*'s 70th Birthday," *Daily People's World*, 29 Sept. 1949, 5.

47. On the motion picture industry, see Bass, *California Eagle*, "The Afro-Americans of Los Angeles Demand the Clansman in Motion Pictures be Denied Admittance," 30 Jan. 1915, 1; "In the Civic Walk," 6 Feb. 1915, 1; "A Fight for Justice," 13 March 1915, 4. On the fire department, see Bass, *California Eagle*, "Unfair Discrimination," 25 Aug. 1917, 4; "Is the Council Mesmerized," 15 Sept. 1917, 4; "The Welfare Department," 13 Oct. 1917, 4; "Civil Service Commission Bans Jim-crow Lists," 24 Nov. 1917, 1; "Notable Victory for Justice and Fair Play – Council Backs Civil Service," 7 Dec. 1917, 1. On the telephone company, see Bass, "On the Sidewalk," *California Eagle*, 14 Sept. 1934, 1; 21 Sept. 1934, 1. On the dam, see Bass, *California Eagle*, "The Boulder Dam," 15 July 1932, 12; "Situation At Boulder Dam Clearing Up," 29 July 1932, 1; "Negro Labor Called to Boulder Dam," 9 Sept. 1932, 1.

48. On the Ku Klux Klan, see Bass, *California Eagle*, "KKK Attempts to Burn Edward Grubbs Home," 28 Jan. 1922, 1; "Klan Operations," 4 July 1924, 1. On the case of a Louisiana man who kept a black domestic under slave conditions, see Bass, *California Eagle*, "Hold Negro Girl as Peon 11 Years," 3 Oct. 1930, 1; "Southern Cracker Gets Jolt Of California Justice," 31 Oct. 1930, 1.

49. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 1 Dec.1929, B-4.

50. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 7 Aug. 1932, M-4; 4 Oct. 1925, B-4.

Beasley took special pride in the inter-racial activities that occurred among local club women, activities that she participated in personally.[51] She pointed out, for example, when white club women invited black women to a meeting at a fashionable restaurant. Beasley further noted when white club women made sure that black women sat at the table with them, rather than being expected to withdraw during the meal.[52]

Beasley did not confine her support of inter-racial activities to praise; she also initiated many such events. In 1929, for example, she convinced a rabbi to allow a black choir to perform at the city's ecumenical Thanksgiving service.[53] She also served as chairwoman of a committee to increase African American participation in the Community Chest, cajoling wealthy blacks into contributing to the charity drive so generously that the organization had no choice but to include black representatives in its governing structure.[54]

By 1933, Beasley had accepted leadership positions in civic groups for both women and men, blacks and whites. After being one of ten women who desegregated the Oakland Council of Church Women, Beasley went on to chair the group's Committee on Race Relations. She also served as publicity chairwoman of a committee to establish a branch of the National Urban League in Oakland and arranged for city-wide race relations meetings.[55]

Beasley's integrationist efforts brought her national recognition. In 1929, the official magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People praised Beasley's success at arranging an inter-racial luncheon for Oakland's Council of Church Women.[56]

In her most pro-active effort toward social change, Beasley combined her activism with her commitment to journalism by conducting a campaign to eliminate offensive language from the pages of the nation's newspapers. Specifically, Beasley crusaded against the words "darkey," "pickaninny," and "nigger," which white newspapers traditionally had used to describe African Americans. She also campaigned for the capitalization of the word "Negro."[57]

Her effort began in 1925 after an incident during the Washington, D.C., convention of the International Council of Women. African American women vocalists had agreed to provide musical entertainment for the convention but had stipulated that the theater had to be integrated. When, on the day of the performance, they learned that the theater would be segregated, they refused to perform. While reading news stories about the incident, Beasley noticed that reporters routinely used the terms "darkey" and "nigger."

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51. Washington also prided himself on his social activities with whites, including having lunch with President Theodore Roosevelt and tea with Queen Victoria. See Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 635; Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia*, 842.
52. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 7 Aug. 1932, M-4.
53. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 1 Dec. 1929, B-4.
54. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 11 Jan. 1931, O-6.
55. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 26 Nov. 1933, T-12; 22 Oct. 1933, B-2; 5 Nov. 1933, T-11; 7 Aug. 1932, M-4.
56. *Crisis* 36 (October 1929): 346. W.E.B. DuBois founded *Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races* in 1910.
57. Dannett, *Negro Womanhood*, 225; Davis, *Lifting*, 191; Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 25.

She called a press conference and pointed out to the correspondents that the derogatory terms had a negative effect on blacks who were trying to better their race. After the convention, Beasley traveled through the East and Midwest, appealing to editors to refrain from using the denigrating terms. Her efforts did not consist of public protests or demonstrations, however, but of speeches to church groups, private meetings with newspaper editors, and references in her column.[58]

Although Beasley cannot be credited with revolutionizing how newspapers treated blacks, historians have acknowledged that her crusade led to more sensitive references to African Americans. In the words of one scholar of black history: "She convinced many editors in the San Francisco area and elsewhere to discontinue use of the contemptuous terms."[59]

Beasley's mastery at avoiding conflict was challenged in her writing on the topic of denigrating language. She successfully avoided direct confrontation, however, by delicately placing her emphasis on cooperation.[60] Indicative was a column in which she recounted her speech to a group of Baptists. She wrote:

> The writer spoke on the power of the press in molding public sentiment, and declared the use of the words darkey, pickaninny and nigger is depressing to colored people. She hoped and prayed the church people would take the lead in helping to abolish their use from the daily press.[61]

Even when crusading against terms that insulted her people, Beasley would not waver from her positive approach. Hers was a career dedicated to convincing white readers that there need not be conflict between the races. She was determined not to allow a contentious tone to deter her from her journalistic mission.

Delilah Beasley was committed to the accommodationist philosophy popularized by Booker T. Washington, and she promoted that moderate approach to social change through her newspaper writing. During a journalism career that began in 1883 and continued until 1934, Beasley committed herself to changing the way that white Americans perceived black Americans. She painted African Americans not as criminals or burdens on society, but as resourceful and responsible men and women. At the same time, however, Beasley failed to record the injustice and discrimination that defined the black experience. In addition to writing for newspapers, Beasley committed her time and energy to increasing inter-racial activities and to reducing denigrating references to Americans of African descent.

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58. Davis, *Lifting*, 191-92.

59. Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 34. See also, Crouchett, *Black Women in America*, 99; Dannett, *Negro Womanhood*, 225.

60. On the infrequent occasions when Washington mentioned white injustices toward blacks, he also did so with such a degree of subtlety that most whites were oblivious of any implied criticism. He maintained that noisy agitation about civil rights would alienate whites and thereby hamper the progress of African Americans. See Logan and Winston, *Dictionary*, 635; Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia*, 842.

61. Beasley, "Activities Among Negroes," *Oakland Tribune*, 28 June 1925, A-12.

Both Beasley and the philosophy to which she adhered are vulnerable to criticism. In hindsight, many historians would characterize her decision to accommodate to white society and to accept a moderate position regarding civil rights as a mistake. Black leaders ultimately learned that accommodation, conciliation, and moderation failed to bring an end to their second-class citizenship. Generations of defiant protest and militant demands would occur before African Americans began to see a substantive gain in their civil rights.

Despite the criticism of Beasley's philosophy and tactics, there is no question that it is valid to articulate the details of her life and journalism career. First, she was an American journalist committed to a social and political philosophy that represents an important stage in the evolution of black Americans. The illumination of such a journalist increases the understanding of that philosophy and, therefore, of American history.

In addition, Beasley was a reporter and columnist who contributed to the history of American journalism – and especially to the evolution of African American women journalists. Although to become the first black woman to write for a mainstream American newspaper may have required that Beasley accept certain compromises in what she wrote about, she opened the door for many more militant and more aggressive women who followed her.

Beasley prepared the way, for example, for the first African American woman journalist to be hired to write fulltime for the mainstream press. That event occurred in 1950 when Marvel Cooke began reporting for the *Daily Compass*, a liberal daily newspaper published in New York City. Adding Cooke to the staff was not an accident, as the editors purposely sought a black woman reporter to bring her unique perspective to their pages. What is more, Cooke was *not* an accommodationist. She was a member of the Communist Party who used her journalism skills to expose unjust working and living conditions and to demand social and political reform for black America.[62]

Beasley also may have contributed to an event that followed in 1972, when the Columbia Broadcasting Service hired Ethel L. Payne to provide editorial commentaries for its "Spectrum" program. CBS producers recruited Payne specifically because they wanted an African-American woman for the national radio and television broadcast, which was subtitled: "Varying Shades of Personal Opinion on Current Issues." Payne, an aggressive reporter, covered Washington for the militant *Chicago Defender* from the 1950s through the 1970s. She reported on every major event of the Civil Rights Movement, as well as the Vietnam War and international crises in thirty countries.[63]

A third relevant event occurred in 1978 when the Public Broadcasting Service hired Charlayne Hunter-Gault as reporter-anchor for the MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour, one of the most highly respected programs in broadcast journalism today. For fifteen years, Hunter-Gault, who previously had written for the *New Yorker* magazine and the *New York Times*, has covered the most significant domestic and international news of the day. With three million viewers

62. On Cooke, see Rodger Streitmatter and Barbara Diggs-Brown, "Marvel Cooke: An African-American Woman Journalist Who Agitated for Racial Reform," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 16 (July 1992): 47-68.

63. On Payne, see Rodger Streitmatter, "No Taste for Fluff: Ethel L. Payne, African-American Journalist," *Journalism Quarterly* 68 (Autumn 1991): 428-40.

watching the program each night, Hunter-Gault has become one of the country's most visible black women. She said: "As a journalist, I don't expose what I as a person believe. But I never hide behind what I am – a black, a woman."[64]

Each of these talented journalists, as well as each of the readers and viewers who benefit from their work, owes a debt of gratitude to the woman who opened the doors of mainstream American journalism to African American women: an accommodationist named Delilah Beasley.

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64. *Working Woman*, "Charlayne Hunter-Gault," July 1981, 60.

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Craig Allen, ***Eisenhower and the Mass Media: Peace, Prosperity, and Prime Time TV.*** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. 259 pp. Cloth, $39.95. Paper, $14.95.

Craig Allen tells a good story, a laudatory and revisionist story of a popular president, Dwight David Eisenhower. While this thirty-fourth president may have decried being in politics, Eisenhower was, according to Allen, the consummate politician when it came to a public image and the first television president.

In particular, Allen relays the story of television. Allen points out that Eisenhower's presidency and increased television reliance paralleled the public's growing dependence upon television for political news, from 31 percent of the American public in 1952 to 49 percent by 1956. Allen shows how Ike and his advisers were able to control information and the president's image after Ike's heart attack to counteract the negative public concerns over his health and age, and after other crises, such as the riots in other countries, missile gap with the Soviets, and civil rights unrest. Allen credits Eisenhower's high approval ratings with his television achievements.

Allen convinces the reader that Ike may have been previously known as a minor communicator, but he used television successfully and in what appeared to be an effortless manner. Because his political style was based on consensus building, Allen argues that the president needed salesmanship and was driven by a public relations mentality. Ike was not adverse to pushing image over substance and assembled the best group of press tacticians, TV consultants, media buyers, creative specialists, and public opinion researchers that money could buy.

It was a hidden use. When critical Democrats decried his media management, Eisenhower did not respond. When he wrote his memoirs, he ignored the subject. His presidency then became not only a story of manipulation but of secrecy: the U-2 affair and the subsequent attempted cover-up is but one example.

But, the story is not complete. Allen's account offers little additional insight on Ike's lead down the disastrous road to Vietnam, the State Department book burning, Hagerty's editing of the press conferences and cover-ups during the president's intestine operation and stroke, Eisenhower's general inarticulateness, and the president's reliance on other mass media (as emphasized in the title) than television.

There are several areas which would have made this most readable book more useful for political communications scholars. How helpful it would have been to have understood Eisenhower's mass media communications system. How did the president's public messages and his television use affect the rest of his executive branch? Indeed, how were they coordinated?

Too, there is no discussion of any larger philosophical or theoretical reasons for Eisenhower's great reliance upon one particular medium: no press-government theories, no public opinion connections for democratic leadership, no watchdog press concept discussion, and little control of information analysis for political power.

Such a lack of analysis raises many questions. If this president distrusted the print media, then how did that distrust fit into the larger picture of mass media and presidential relations? How had Eisenhower as a military man,

whose background had been as an authoritative leader, coped with journalists who saw a more libertarian model of presidential leadership? Despite these questions, Allen's singular study of Eisenhower and the press is the only addition since James Pollard's addendum and offers but another insight into television and politics.

Betty Houchin Winfield, University of Missouri

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Gerald J. Baldasty, **The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century.** Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992. xii + 227 pp. Cloth, $60. Paper $22.95.

When Michael Schudson, in *Discovering the News,* identified the underlying narrative of nineteenth century journalism history as the rise of "democratic market society" he was no doubt correct. But this formula raised far more questions than it answered, and Schudson's own elegant work satisfied few. Gerald Baldasty's *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* goes a long way toward filling in the picture.

Baldasty constructs polar ideal types of newspapers – the partisan and the commercial – and argues that the former predominated in the 1820s and 1830s, then was gradually replaced by the latter, which had become prevalent by the 1890s. Partisan newspapers concentrated on promoting political movements to readers conceived as voters, and drew revenues from a variety of sources, prominently including government contracts and partisan subsidies. Commercial newspapers offered diverse content to readers conceived as consumers; their crucial revenue came from advertising. Baldasty illustrates these characteristics copiously, citing newspapers, manuscript sources, autobiographies, trade journals, and a host of other primary sources. His work adds substance to agreeable abstractions, and invites us to explore the ironies and contradictions in the development of the press culture of democratic market society.

Commercialization ain't Oz, but then neither was Oz. Baldasty acknowledges the emerald glow – commercial papers diversified news content, attracted previously neglected readers (especially women), and were more fun than their "staid" predecessors (perhaps we should all agree not to use "staid" anymore). But he also calls attention to "the man behind the curtain," the advertiser. Advertisers and their agents insisted on political toothlessness and demanded puffery and boosterism; by co-opting newspapers' own employees in the counting room, they effectively subjugated editors and their underpaid reporters. In the process, a vibrant public sphere was left sterile.

Baldasty's account is more nuanced than I can indicate in a short review. One should note that he employs a complex, even dialectical, notion of historical change, in which agency comes from environment (e.g, the industrial revolution) as well as organizational imperatives (Alfred Chandler's "visible hand") and the interests of occupational groups (editors and advertisers) as well as individuals (newspaper moguls). He avoids the twin sins of explanation by hero (James Gordon Bennett invented the commercial newspaper) and by euphonious abstraction (monopoly capital did it). To some, his explanations might seem too eclectic – mustn't one choose between "rationalization" and "class conflict," for instance? Baldasty invokes both when explaining technological change in the print trades. But it would be arrogant of this book to adjudicate a century-old dispute when it can offer evidence for both positions.

In some other regards, the book is less nuanced than it could be. Baldasty underplays the countercurrents within either model, though he indicates his awareness of them. A naive reader might be surprised at the strength of the reform press in the antebellum period, as well as the ferocity of the abolitionist critique of the partisan press; likewise, the flourishing of the foreign-language and the socialist press at the turn of the century indicates large pockets of resistence to commercialization, and a stern critique of the commercial press accompanied the move toward professionalism already underway in the 1890s. These countercurrents aren't seen more strongly because they are grounded in moments outside of Baldasty's frame of reference – the critique of partisanism drew on an earlier press culture of republican impartiality, while the critique of commercialism was articulated into the professional apparatus of modern journalism.

Baldasty might have given more thought to professionalism in his account of the decline of newspaper partisanism. He notes – drawing on one of many well-executed content analyses in this book – that partisanism remained a viable market strategy in some locales, especially in mid sized cities with two or three competing newspapers. Politics-as-spectacle did work for many commercial papers. Its disappearance cannot be simply explained by market considerations, nor by appealing to the declining popularity of politics, which might better be seen as an effect than a cause of changing journalistic styles. Instead, journalists and editors had to abandon partisanism to gain the high ground of professionalism from which to wage their battle against an encroaching army of advertisers and accountants. Commercialism didn't end popular politics; the reaction against commercialism did.

As I've already indicated, Baldasty's account has the great virtue of not limiting the story of the press to the press. His "commercialization of news," like Schudson's is an accommodation to a cascade of changes in U.S. politics and society. He is meticulous in detailing the changing networks of relationships that constituted newspapers as media. He does tend to leave out one dimension of these networks, though – the public. Of course, this is too much to ask of one book, and Baldasty does outline in broad terms how the imagined status of readers changed. But one's attention is drawn back to this issue in the conclusion. Here and elsewhere, Baldasty laments the obsolescence of the public sphere; it was vigorous in the partisan era, but grew silent and lonely in the commercial era. Clearly, the media haven't helped matters much. Still, the public sphere is a mediating space between civil society and the state; if the public sphere dwindles, it must have something to do with civil society, by which we mean the very environment that shaped the media, and we can't take the comfortable route of blaming the media themselves. Recreating the public sphere (if Baldasty's account is correct) requires much more than freeing the media from the marketplace, then: it requires freeing the public from the marketplace. As James Carey and others are fond of pointing out, the media are not a public; they are merely one condition for the existence of a public.

Thanks to Baldasty's work, issues like these can now be discussed more intelligently.

John Nerone, University of Illinois

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Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, ***Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism.*** The American University Press, 1993. 374 pp. Paper, $14.95.

Taking Their Place is a revised and expanded version of the coauthors' pioneering 1977 book, *Women in Media*. This new volume will undoubtedly take the place of its predecessor as the best text available for teaching about the women who have written for America's media. This new work, like the previous one, combines brief biological sketches of some of the major women in mass communication with samples of their writing.

Still included are Mary Katherine Goddard, the colonial newspaper owner who printed the Declaration of Independence and who after the Revolutionary War filed a sex discrimination complaint with the U.S. Congress; Sarah J. Hale, the proper lady who edited the influential *Godey's Lady's Book* for forty years and campaigned for the right of women to become doctors; and Rheta Childe Door, the World War I correspondent who in 1917 traveled to Russia to cover the revolution.

Almost double the length of the earlier work, this book includes valuable additions – African American editor Ida Wells-Barnett, who in the 1880s went to court to challenge segregated seating on railroad trains and in the 1890s through her newspaper columns organized an African American boycott of Memphis businesses to protest lynchings; Dickey Chapelle, a freelance photographer who was the first newswoman and fourth member of the press to die during the Vietnam War; Christine Brennan, who covered the Washington Redskins for the *Washington Post* and served as president of the Association for Women in Sports Media.

This book contains stronger linking essays which discuss topical issues for women in journalism. The final chapters, which discuss gender discrimination, unbiased language choices for writers, and the status of minority women journalists, are particulary welcome. This book has also made a concentrated effort to move away from the bias of the previous book toward white women for newspapers. Photojournalists and broadcasters and more minority women appear in this edition.

Political correctness has not blinded the book to the news assignments which brought many women into journalism. The traditional women's magazines and women's pages rate chapters. The book includes a fascinating interview with Ruth Crane Schaefer, who spent twenty-seven years as a broadcaster in Detroit and Washington, D.C. Schaefer's programs focused on food. "I didn't think then, and still don't, that the only really proud function of women on the air is to deliver...hard news. There is a lot of other information...that women find interesting and beneficial when expounded by an expert," said Schaefer.

Like the previous edition, *Taking Their Place* should be required reading for any course in women in media. Because of the large number of primary documents it includes, the book would also make a good reading supplement for a course in media history. One can regale students with tales of yellow journalism, but when they read Winifred Black's moving, but obviously fictionalized, account of the Galveston flood which killed 6,000 people in 1900, students begin to realize why the audience kept reading yellow journalists even though they stretched the truth.

Catherine C. Mitchell, University of North Carolina at Asheville

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Robert C. Cottrell, ***Izzy: A Biography of I.F. Stone.*** New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992. 388 pp. $25.95.

Radical journalism may seem an oxymoron in these times of conglomerated, chain-owned, mergered, mercantiled news organizations.

All kinds of forces – including journalism education – preclude a truly radical journalism that questions the very foundation of nation, society and politics.

It's difficult for journalists to forsake the conventions of the field, to ignore the siren song of sources and insiders, to avoid the pressures and pleasures of the pack, to confront their own cultural values and beliefs.

It's difficult, but I.F. Stone tried.

Perhaps because of the difficulty and subsequent rarity of radical journalism, Stone has become something of a journalistic icon. Since his so-called retirement in the 1970s and continuing after his death in 1989, Stone made the transition – in his oft-quoted phrase – "from pariah to a character and then...a national institution." Documentaries, books, articles, even "60 Minutes" have attempted to capture the transition and the man.

Robert Cottrell, an associate professor of history at California State University at Chico, makes his contribution to an understanding of Stone with a text grounded in mid-twentieth century American leftist politics. Cottrell's choice offers insights into the politics and the era; but the history here sometimes comes at the expense of the biography.

Cottrell does cover all the necessary and intriguing biographical details: Stone's precocious, teenage interest in journalism and radical theory; his youthful embrace of communism; his work for mainstream Philadelphia newspaper and then the renowned radical press of the 1930s and1940s in New York; the founding of *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, the newsletter that made Stone's career as an investigative journalist who found his scoops on the papertrail of the nation's capital; Stone's early and brave forays against McCarthyism, in defense of civil rights, and against the Vietnam War; his disenchantment with the Soviet socialist state that caused great rifts in the American left.

From interviews with family members and Stone himself, Cottrell also provides insights into Stone's personal life; his sometimes stormy years with his parents, who were displeased with Stone's career choice; his long marriage, dominated by Stone's work; his relationship with three children, who also had to deal with Stone's work and drive.

Despite all that background, Cottrell seems most interested in situating Stone in the history of the American left. Indeed, in some ways, the book can be read as an historical account of left-wing politics and writing. Some of this heavy historical context may derive from the book's roots in Cottrell's 1983 doctoral dissertation on Stone.

The concentration on leftist politics does come at the expense of other topics. For example, journalists might like to see more exploration of Stone's investigative techniques – how he did what he did. Also, surprisingly, the book offers few extended examples of Stone's work. Readers do not get enough sense of the penetrating insights, the acerbic tongue, or the acid humor that made Stone so popular and unpopular.

Finally, the book could give a more compelling depiction of Stone himself. The book offers much more information than insight. Often readers learn what Stone did or said – but not what he thought or felt.

Cottrell seems to hesitate at exploring the character that Stone portrayed and the self-willed process by which he turned talent and drive into

national, institutional status. The book reveals the character – gregarious, grumpy charming, driven – but perhaps not the man behind the character.

From my own brief interviews with Stone, I know what Cottrell was up against. Stone was a complex, multi-dimensional figure who preferred to see himself and portray himself in more humble and simple terms. He saw himself from a professional, rather than personal, perspective. He was "a good newspaperman."

For all of that, *Izzy* is at least a good introduction to Stone's life and work. Cottrell's tack seems logical and valuable. He offers context and contrast, a text that gives insights into a turbulent and tumultuous time, and a radical journalist – a good newspaperman – in the middle of it all.

Jack Lule, Lehigh University

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Frank Marshall Davis. ***Livin' the Blues: Memoirs of a Black Poet and Journalist.*** Ed. John Edgar Tidwell. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992. 373 pp. $27.50.

Black press biographies have typically focused on the "biggies." Previous works on Robert Abbott, Claude Barnett, Robert Vann, Ida Wells-Barnett, George Schuyler, and P.B. Young have come to make up the brightest stars in the twentieth century black press constellation.

Livin' the Blues, Frank Marshall Davis' memoirs, remind us that the black press had its comets. It is a welcome addition to the collection of life stories of the men and women who were actually the work-a-day journalists who wrote and edited the copy for the stars' enterprises.

Davis (1905-1987) was a journalist who spent most of the 1930s and 1940s in the Chicago area working for several papers and the Associated Negro Press. Journalism was not his sole passion and he was developing a reputation as a poet when he decided in 1948 to chuck it all for the territory in Hawaii, where he remained in virtual self-exile until his death.

Davis' autobiography languished after he stopped working on it circa 1980. However, John Edgar Tidwell did a masterful job of collecting the available manuscripts and coming up with a coherent narrative that includes explanatory notes for some of Davis' potentially obscure references. As Tidwell points out, *Livin' the Blues* is "a virtual collage...the recollections of a jazz reporter and music historian, a photographer, an editorial writer, a fictionist, a political activist, and, of course, a poet."

Livin' the Blues traces Davis from his childhood in Arkansas, where he was five when a group of white third-graders chose him for a thwarted lynching experiment. According to Davis, this was the start of "a life long inferiority complex" that by 1980 he had learned to control but which he never lost. Majoring in journalism at Kansas State University, it dawned on Davis that he preparing to work for a daily newspaper but there were no black dailies in the 1920s. After toiling on various black publications, it is ironic that Davis became the editor of the first black daily newspaper–the Atlanta *Daily World*–during his only extended stay in the South in the early 1930s.

Livin' the Blues gives the reader a personalized account of what it was like being black, a reporter, an intellectual, a renaissance man, a lover in the 1930s. Davis does his share of name-dropping and includes highly readable accounts of encounters with black celebrities of the day, including Jack Johnson, Fritz Pollard, Richard Wright, and W.A. Scott. Davis' experience with Col.

Hubert Julian, a black pilot known as "The Black Eagle," is a hilarious metaphor of American racial poker.

An autobiography by its end should give the reader a sense that the writer told it all. In its pages, laden with the language of a '30s and '40s hipster, Davis reveals that while he was full of insecurities and subject to the failures of any husband with a roving eye or a dry throat, his passion for journalism was lifelong. His self-exile to Hawaii normally would have meant obscurity but Davis did enjoy a 1960s renaissance as an original "angry black poet."

That the last seven years of Davis' life were unaccounted for is a minor detraction from the book. To his credit, Tidwell attempts to fill in that blank. By the end of *Livin' the Blues,* the reader has a sense that if Davis did not tell it all; he in fact omitted very little.

Phillip Jeter, Florida A&M University

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Robert J. Donovan and Ray Scherer, ***Unsilent Revolution: Television News and American Public Life.*** Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Cambridge University Press, 1992. 357 pp. Paper, $17.95.

Despite its severe black binding and the scholarly imprint of its sponsor, this is not a scholarly book. Instead, it is a summary of how television covered the "big" stories of the last several decades. This is familiar material for anyone who is either (1) middle aged and saw the coverage the first time around, or (2) occasionally watches public television and its ongoing reprises of the events of our time, invariably accompanied by that original television coverage. Since this is a reprise itself of how the television business covered the big story, it does not even come close to approaching its stated purpose of telling the "intimate story of how television news since 1948 has affected American moods, American society and institutions, American politics and politicians." These are large and fancy ambitions, appropriate for a book proposal perhaps, but an achievement that is clearly out of depth of these authors. Instead what the authors really do, and want to do, is reminisce, telling their version of "how we did it" against a background of America as they – occasionally supported by the polls of George Gallup – believed it to be. It is an efficient and readable telling to be sure and its summary nature might make it useful in an undergraduate setting. But it is not scholarship, nor history, nor criticism. The addition of hindsight interviews from participants (i.e., Ben Bradlee on the reaction to Watergate) does not illuminate as much as further massage the remembrances of things past into the historical monolith of "and that's the way it was." What is amazing about this book is that it is published now, at a time when revelations of news manipulations during this period abound. But the authors here cannot imagine that there were dramatic alternatives to news other than how it was presented. Bless these fellows: News is simply news professionals doing what is best for the American public. Sometimes the press falls short to be sure. They were too easily led by Ronald Reagan. But eventually the press will return to the well-traveled road. The affirmative response of the American public, as in the outpouring of sympathy for the starving of Somalia, provides the guiding light.

Are my comments brusque? I admit to irritation. The book is a poseur– from its pointless title (Why *unsilent* revolution? Are revolutions usually silent?) to its pretentious aims and lack of critical view. I am reminded of the so-called Sunday morning pundit shows in which the experts of the left and the right are supposed to represent the complete set of choices available. The

naivete, albeit self-importance, of the Sunday morning talk shows similarly informs this book. Its serious black binding should be taken in the same spirit as the suits and ties of the Sunday morning experts. At a time when good scholarship goes begging, one wonders why Cambridge Press chose to give this book its imprint.

Patricia Bradley, Temple University

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Richard Fine, ***James M. Cain and the American Authors' Authority.*** Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992. 286 pp. $35.

Those familiar with his name know James M. Cain as a newspaperman turned novelist, a reporter and columnist who became one of his era's most celebrated writers when he published his first novel, *The Postman Always Rings Twice,* in 1934. Few today know Cain's work, and even fewer know of his ambitious attempt, in 1946-47, to organize virtually every American writer into an organization devoted to protecting their economic interests, the American Authors' Authority (AAA). In his superb book on Cain and the AAA, Richard Fine uses a minor episode in the life of a neglected author as the basis for a broad, illuminating analysis of the role of the American writer in the literary marketplace.

In recent years, thanks to the rise of the New Historicism in literary studies and the renewed vigor of American Studies, numerous literary scholars have turned from New Critical close readings of texts to a consideration of how authors and texts are affected by economic forces. Christopher Wilson, Daniel H. Borus, R. Jackson Wilson, and others have produced studies that show how American writers from Benjamin Franklin to Jack London have responded to the marketplace. Fine builds on this previous scholarship and significantly extends it, moving from the early twentieth century – the terminating point of previous studies – to the 1940s and beyond.

James M. Cain developed the concept of the AAA in 1946 because he was convinced that writers were being exploited by the publishers and producers who controlled the literary markets. As a best-selling novelist and thousand-dollar- a-week Hollywood screenwriter, he would seem to have little grounds for complaint. Yet Cain, who bounced from one job to another throughout his career, knew the precariousness of the writer's position. And he had personal experience with how an economically naive author could be exploited by organizations stocked with lawyers and accountants: Cain received a total of only $12,500 for the screen rights to *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, even though his story was made into three successful movies during his lifetime.

Cain proposed that the AAA would serve as a repository for authors' copyrights and oversee the sale of all subsidiary rights. He modeled the AAA on the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), which for decades had served successfully as a clearinghouse for copyrighted music. Cain envisioned the AAA as an efficient bureaucracy that could protect authors' economic interests, leaving them free to write.

To Cain's surprise, what he saw as a common-sense proposal engendered a storm of protest. Many of the objections to the AAA were cast in political terms, and the few historians prior to Fine who studied the AAA controversy regarded it as one of the opening battles of the Cold War. The AAA was denounced as a Communist plot, a "party line maneuver for the control of

all writers and their writing," in the words of one opponent. Such overheated accusations laid the ground for the anti-Communist hysteria that resulted in the infamous Hollywood blacklist. While acknowledging the political aspects of the AAA controversy, Fine argues that the heart of the controversy was not political but professional. What doomed the AAA was not the debate between the political right and left but conflict between those who clung to the Victorian conception of the artist as gentleman or lady-amateur.

In a brief, eloquent conclusion, Fine moves from the 1940s to the contemporary scene, arguing that writers' outmoded self-conception and their weak role in the literary marketplace have changed little since Cain abandoned his proposal for the AAA. He writes:

> [T]he AAA controversy...dramatizes the difficulties American writers encountered...in divorcing themselves from... their Victorian past... Unable to create a true profession, writers invariably fall back on the cult of the individual and wrap themselves in the quasi-sacred notion that writing is a 'calling.' Unable to organize to protect their own economic interests in a society that values those interests above all else, writers have become diminished players in the literary market-place, and in American culture as a whole.

Richard Fine's book provides an astute analysis of a little-known but crucial episode in writers' ongoing efforts to define the profession of authorship in America.

Michael Robertson, Trenton State College

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Frankie Hutton, ***The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860.*** Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993. $45.

This book provides an examination of the origin and development of the black press in the United States and Canada prior to the Civil War. In the introduction, Hutton states that her purpose is threefold: (1) to provide evidence that the early black press was not solely an abolitionist organ; (2) to address the need for primary sources that would add insight into the study of people of color; and (3) to provide an analysis of themes prevalent in the columns of the pre-Civil War black press.

The value of Hutton's work lies in these three specific aspects of her study. The book provides additional knowledge about the nineteenth-century black press, an area that until recently has attracted little historical interest, and mentions newspapers operating in two countries of major significance to blacks before 1860. The analyis of the content of the black-owned and black-operated papers also lends much-needed support to refute erroneous assumptions that black editors and publishers were interested only in the antislavery issue – when in reality, antislavery was only one of the many concerns regularly addressed and debated in black journals. The book is also significant in that it provides some insight into the background and character of many whose lives and philosophies influenced what topics would be included in each issue of the black journals.

However, the book falls short of its intended goals in other areas. It provides information about the lives and ideals of editors and publishers about

whom much is already known – Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, John Russwurm, Philip Bell, and Samuel Cornish – but it fails to enlighten the reader about many of the others who still remain a mystery even to historians of the period. The study supposedly examines approximately 17 black journals, but the examples cited are primarily from *Freedom's Journal, Colored American, Weekly Anglo-African,* and Douglass' publications – *North Star, Frederick Douglass' Paper,* and *Douglass' Monthly.*

The analysis of content also raises more questions than it answers. Part II of the book, which, according to Hutton, is a thematically arranged interpretive analysis of messages appearing in the papers, resorts to listing information in a series of examples rather than explaining the significance of the messages and placing them into context for the reader. Hutton also makes generalizations in her coda that are frequently contradicted by the examples she cites throughout the book, such as stating that black editors were always positive and inspirational in the messages they issued to their readers, when examples cited clearly indicate that negative conceptions were often the only means by which editors felt they could emphasize the seriousness of achieving full-citizenship status. This also raises the question of how such broad generalizations could be made when evidence cited was severely limited to only a few black newspapers.

Despite these shortcomings, the book is a necessary and invaluable contribution to an area of mass media history that, while not completely ignored, has been frequently overlooked by past historians.

Bernell E. Tripp, University of Florida

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Linda Lawson, ***Truth in Publishing: Federal Regulation of the Press's Business Practices, 1880-1920.*** Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1993.

In the election of 1992, Bill Clinton's campaign team received extensive publicity for a sign on the wall of its office: "It's the economy, stupid." The sign, and the successful focus of much of the Clinton campaign on economic issues, was reflective of the importance of economic factors in the social system of 1992.

One would not expect today's historians to be immune from society's fixation with things economic. Linda Lawson, an assistant professor in the School of Journalism at Indiana University, is a recent example. Her book, *Truth in Publishing: Federal Regulation of the Press's Business Practices, 1880-1920,* highlights the importance of economic factors in the passage of the Newspaper Publicity Act of 1912, a somewhat overlooked but significant legislative milestone in journalism history.

Lawson's well-organized and well-argued book is an examination of government regulation of the business practices of the press during the Progressive Era. She focuses on three abuses of the press during the late 1800s – hidden ownership of newspaper and magazines, concealing advertisements as news stories, and the misrepresentation of circulation figures. The abuses led to debate within the press and from its critics, including some reformers in Congress.

An important result was the Newspaper Publicity Act of 1912, which required the industry to disclose ownership, publish circulation figures – in the case of daily newspapers – and label advertisements. Congress was able to exert influence and circumvent the First Amendment because of the press's reliance on

favorable second-class postage rates to distribute much of its product. Newspapers challenged the statute in the Supreme Court, but lost. Much of the establishment press, after resisting the legislation, learned to embrace the law. The publicity value of complying with the regulations, the limits on competition and the somewhat toothless enforcement provisions made the "legitimate" press come around to a position of support.

Lawson asserts that the textbook image of the press as a crusader, working closely with the reformers of in the Progressive Era, had a flipside – that the press was as guilty as any other business of committing corporate abuses. The author makes a convincing case that abuses occurred, but her assumption that most of the press were reformers, and thus somehow hypocritical, is less sound. Not all of the nation's newspapers and magazines were involved in muckraking – in fact, many newspapers actively opposed journalism crusades, particularly after Theodore Roosevelt's 1906 muckrake speech. One of the issues thus left open to debate is how much of the reformist press was guilty of the abuses she documents. Another point not addressed by the book is exactly how important the second-class mailing privilege was to the press of the day in terms of circulation and costs.

Aside from these two issues, Lawson succeeds in pulling together reformist, revisionist, and structural interpretations of the Progressive Era. Her book is a valuable addition to the literature of the Progressive Era as the first in-depth look at the business practices of the press and the Newspaper Publicity Act of 1912.

Mark Neuzil, University of St. Thomas

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John Anthony Maltese, ***Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News.*** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992. 297 pp. Cloth $29.95.

This book represents the first complete attempt to show how modern presidents manipulate the news through employment of public relations techniques centered in the White House Office of Communications. Maltese, an assistant professor at the University of Georgia, tells an important, although somewhat tedious, story of political communication techniques that provide images for presidential leadership in place of substance.

Beginning with Richard Nixon, who set up the first white House Office of Communications, and ending with a brief overview of the Bush administration, the author details the ways that presidents have tried to orchestrate public opinion in their behalf through sophisticated release of information. The need for this effort, he points out, lies in the changing nature of presidential politics. With a breakdown in the political party structure, presidents must depend on the mobilization of public support for their ongoing political power. Consequently they seek to harness public support by controlling contacts with media. Background papers and briefings, sound bites for radio and television, speeches by presidential "surrogates" (often cabinet officers), promotion of single slogans that sell a presidential program, identification and control of a presidential agenda and visual image-all these make up the strategies of the White House Office of Communication.

From the time of its establishment in 1969 by Richard Nixon, the office has served to enhance the power of the White House staff at the expense of the federal bureaucracy. Today no presidency can survive without a well-defined

plan to coordinate executive branch news flow and reach the public through a variety of media-print and broadcast, elite and non-elite. No longer is the White House press corps the crucial element in the communications process.

Public relations has replaced true political dialogue. As the author notes, the media has accepted stage-management of presidents by their advisers. Media representatives, particularly broadcasters, need the access, photo opportunities and distribution of information that communications management offers. Yet democracy may well be the loser with a "citizenry that is inundated with the symbolic spectacle of politics but ill-equipped to judge its leaders or the merits of their politics," Maltese concludes.

Basing his case on archival sources and personal interviews with former White House officials, Maltese gives the insider's picture of the Office of Communication under Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan with a brief overview of Bush's operation. He adds to understanding of the Watergate period by describing the conflicting philosophies of Nixon's aides. He contends the Ford and Carter administrations were doomed to failure in part because neither president understood how to develop a successful communications campaign. Like other commentators, Maltese gives Reagan high marks for "perfecting the art of communication." One only hopes that the price of this perfection is not the democratic process. This volume belongs in all University libraries and would be a useful supplemental text for political science and mass media and society classes.

Maurine H. Beasley, University of Maryland- College Park

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Jack Mooney, ***Printers in Appalachia: The International Printing Pressman and Assistants' Union of North America 1907-1967.*** Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Press, 1993. 193 pp. Cloth, $39.95. Paper, $16.95.

In an era of corporate takeovers, reductions in force, and growing dependence on government for everything from training and medical help for workers to tax and postal breaks and joint operating agreements to promote the trickle-up theory to the owner's banks, this book provides a much-needed look into the past.

It's the story of the struggles and triumphs of the International Printing Pressman and Assistants' Union of North America (IPPAU of NA) – an often-overlooked union whose members toil in the noisy, inky bowels of many of the largest and most influential publications in the United States and Canada.

In the day preceding the general acceptance of social welfare programs and an enlightened philosophy of public support for such programs, Jack Mooney reminds us the programs newpaper unions supported for proposed benefits was a crusade, and the union leaders were the knights leading the cause.

In particular, Mooney focuses on how IPPAU and its charismatic president George L. Berry helped create and maintain its headquarters at Pressman's Home, Tennessee. It also operated a sanitorium to serve union victims of tuberculosis and a technical training school to train pressman in letterpress and offset printing.

As tribute to his efforts and as a means of recognizing such newspaper-business related unions as the International Typographical Union, the Internaional Brotherhood of Paper Makers and the Newpaper Guild, Perry was appointed to the commission that drafted the United States' social security system.

Mooney shows his respect and love for the pressman who created a self sustaining hamlet with its own phone system, post office, water and electrical systems, chapel, hotel, restaurant, and farm before moving its headquarters to Washington, D.C.

In addition to providing a broad outline of the union, we learn of many of the personalities and in-fighting that took place from the turn of the century to the mid-sixties with special emphasis on the catalytic role of the newspaper unions in stimulating government to help take care of its citizens. Prior to the New Deal programs, the benefits labor unions offered their members in the form of care and/or security in their old age were very important.

This book can serve as an important supplement to the growing number of classes on media economics that focus on business aspects while overlooking the important role of unions in American journalism. It is also an important supplement to most of the general texts that today don't give much consideration to the workers while focusing on the more glamorous editors and reporters. The major flaw in the book is the lack of an index to help students or historians relate closer to the individual's workers in their particular locale.

Aside from that, Mooney's book is an important contribution to journalism history.

Alf Pratte, Brigham Young University

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Michael Oriard, ***Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle.*** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. Cloth, $29.95.

Michael Oriard's *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an Americam Spectacle* is a curious book in that it succeeds spendidly in examining the competing readings of football in the popular press of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century America, while hardly addressing at all its larger claim that the popular press "created" football as an American spectacle.

As former football player turned English professor, Oriard seems particularly qualified to examine the sport's many meanings and the role of mass media in articulating those texts to a nation. Oriard's analysis centers on the New York sporting press of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, and the essays of Walter Camp and Caspar Whitney found in *Harper's* and *Outing*. Camp's emphasis on team play and coaching strategy situated the sport at the center of America's evolving corporate culture, while Whitney's celebration of personal achievement rationalizes the efficacy of individual initiative in an increasingly bureaucratized age.

Oriard traces how these multiple meanings became embedded within popular reporting patterns during football's formative years. Richard Harding Davis and Stephen Crane received record-shattering salaries to report how civilization was itself at stake in Yale's scrum with Princeton or Harvard's appointment with Carlisle. Metaphors might mix. Gladiatoral narratives were laced with "charging elephants" and "snarling tigers." Brains beat gridiron brawn, according to journalistic formula, even in the days of the flying wedge, and the stories told in five- and seven-column front page headlines invariably emphasized the "necessary roughness" of games that affirmed man's link to a primitive past while asserting his future as scientific strategist.

The very media that sensationalized sport as a way of stimulating circulation, occasionally bashed it for its violent excesses. Progressive-minded E.L. Godkin at the *Nation* favored banning football altogether. But reformers were beaten back by Teddy Roosevelt and other advocates of the strenuous life who saw football contributing materially to the "hardihood" of the individual and the race.

Oriard observes that football's origins as a gentlemen's game played at prestigious East Coast universities made it attractive to working class readers who saw the sport's democratic tendencies as a great social leveller. Brahmins deplored the "excessive brutality" of lower class boxing matches, but Richard Fox, publisher of the *National Police Gazette*, plausibly argued that there was more rough stuff between the lines of Manhattan Field than within the squared ring.

Oriard is careful to point out football's many meanings to Victorian era editors and readers – as site for physical testing, male bonding, and fraternal ritual that celebrated heroic masculine force as well as the bureaucratic virtues of team play, attention to detail, and dedication to hard work. Football became simultaneously "an expression of Anglo-Saxon strength" and the gridiron "a small ethical world of white lines" where moral lessons were taught.

Oriard is less persuasive in his claim that "the daily press created football as an American spectacle." John Betts and Benjamin Rader are among the sports historians who have noted that New York's yellow press developed sports sections while playing sports to the limit as a circulation-getting strategy. Even the more self-consciously self-respecting newspapers, such as Adolph Och's *New York Times*, responded to the rise of sport by stepping up the daily word hole filled by sports. This was both a response to and an encouragement of fundamental changes within American society and its reading publics. Those changes included the rise of a leisure class and the development of a consumption culture whose ethos of self-cultivation and promotion gained ground against late Victorian notions of self-denial and minded discipline. This made mass media less an instrument of social change than a promoter of tendencies already at work in Guilded Age culture.

Oriard's analysis isn't helped by his overemphasis on the Hearst and Pulitzer press of 1890s New York. Their exaggerated sagas of football's splendor were hardly embraced by many editors on both sides of the Hudson. While the play of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Penn might merit front page play in Chicago and Denver, it was the wire service story that appeared there in something less than purple prose promising the apocalypse. Football competed, not always favorably, with baseball, boxing, bicycling, and rowing for newspaper space and readership loyalty in the 1890s. That is why Oriard overstates the case when he insists that the popular press was "primary" and the game "secondary" in football's emergence as popular spectacle.

Oriard is on far firmer ground when he analyzes the competing meanings ascribed to football by its founders and early promoters in the press. His book is generously illustrated by the University of North Carolina Press but is relatively light in its use of journalism and sports history that would have placed the rise of sport and sports coverage in better context. Nevertheless, the study's careful summary of sport's competing meanings in turn-of-the-century America makes *Reading Football* worth reading.

Bruce J. Evensen, De Paul University

William S. Soloman and Robert W. McChesney, eds., ***Ruthless Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History.*** University of Minnesota Press, 1993. 389 pp.

Although the title is from Marx ("*ruthless criticism of everything existing,* ruthless in two senses: The criticism must not be afraid of its own conclusions, nor of conflict with the powers that be"), this collection of articles is neither particularly ruthless in the ordinary sense nor Marxian in approach. Indeed, if this work has a godfather it is not Marx but Alfred McClung Lee (1907-1992), the American sociologist whose *The Daily Newspaper In America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument* (1937) coolly portrayed the American press not as a guardian of truth and freedom but as a mere industry. Lee is cited in at least three of the fourteen essays in *Ruthless Criticism.* More important, the theme announced in William Solomon's somewhat underargued introductory chapter is Lee-like:

> The diversity of media voices in the nineteenth century did not lead to a richer and more diverse array of media voices today, a public sphere ... [but] the rise of a culture industry that now dominates the public discourse.
>
> Accounting for a culture industry requires different histories than would account for a pluralistic and democratic media system [which, Solomon implies, does not exist].

Thus this collection might be characterized as an industrial interpretation of history.

The first segment, seven essays devoted to print industries and cultures, seems to me to hew closest to this theme. Three consider the press in general: Michael Warner on the eighteenth-century public sphere fostered by print; John C. Nerone's challenging "ecological" account of the print culture in Cincinnati to 1848; and Gerald J. Baldasty's inquiry on news as commodity in the nineteenth century. Three others describe what Jon Bekken, in his essay on the working-class press of the turn of the century, calls "alternative public sphere[s]" – that is, the press that served particular communities of interests. Besides Bekken, Holly Allen studies gender distinctions in the press of the Knights of Labor and Linda Steiner provides lively profiles of woman's suffrage periodicals. Albert Kreiling's intelligent essay on Chicago's black press may be the most interesting, for it describes both streams – an alternative press that absorbed forms of commercial journalism.

The four essays on broadcasting seem more diffuse. Eileen R. Meehan shrewdly recounts the division of the broadcast audience into consumers and listeners; Robert W. McChesney recalls the failed broadcasting-reform movement of the early 1930s; Lynn Spigel describes postwar adult efforts to reform television in the name of children; and Nancy F. Bernhard provides a small glimpse of a huge subject in describing early collaboration between network news departments and federal policymakers.

The final two contributions do not fit comfortably into the previous categories nor, despite their individual merit, into the book as a whole. Christopher Simpson picks his way, somewhat sarcastically, through the network of communicologists whose services to the government, starting in

World War II, culminated in the deadly Phoenix program in Vietnam. Susan J. Douglas discusses female sexuality in the popular culture of the early 1960s.

The volume appears to represent the current work of a rising generation of scholars based for the most part in communication-related academic departments. Competent and engaging though they may be, these efforts do not come across as venturesome intellectually; with certain exceptions, such as Warner, Nerone, and Kreiling, the essays provide more documentation than challenging ideas. That is, we are shown a few interesting places rather than a whole new map. If there is going to be a ruthless new communication history, this is only a promising glimpse of it.

James Boylan, University of Massachusetts

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James N. Stull, ***Literary Selves: Autobiography and Contemporary American Nonfiction.*** Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993. 176 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

Despite its subtitle, James N. Stull's book isn't about autobiography per se. Strictly speaking, an autobiography is the story of a life as told by the person who lived it. Many American journalists have written their life stories, or at least the stories of their professional lives. You have probably read some of them: *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens,* Vincent Sheean's *Personal History,* H.L. Mencken's *Days* books, Russell Baker's *Growing Up* and *The Good Times,* Edna Buchanan's *The Corpse Had a Familiar Face.*

But Stull, an assistant adjunct professor of English ar Iowa State University, isn't referring to these and similar nostalgic tales when he uses the term "autobiography." He is referring, instead, to contemporary works of literary journalism. Drawing on recent theories about the symbolic or metaphorical nature of autobiography, particularly those developed by Albert E. Stone, James Olney, and Alfred Kazin, he argues that how literary journalists perceive and describe others is ultimately a statement about themselves as well, a form of self-disclosure. "The subjects of a nonfiction work," he says, "are based on real people, but they are also in part a creation of the author's inner, psychological world."

Stull pursues his thesis by examining the writings of six literary journalists. He devotes separate chapters to John McPhee, Joe McGinnis, Tom Wolfe, Joan Didion, Hunter S. Thompson, and Norman Mailer. Each chapter begins with a two- or three-page biographical sketch of the writer under discussion and then proceeds to an analysis of the writer's most characteristic works.

Sometimes Stull seems to assume a direct connection between personal history and the literary presentation of self. He notes that as a teenager, Thompson rebelled by committing petty crimes, and ties this to Thompson's later portrayal of himself as an outlaw or deviant in *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* and other pieces of "gonzo" journalism. Similarly, he traces McGinnis' preoccupation with flawed fathers: Richard Nixon, the thirty-seventh father of our country, in *The Selling of the President 1968,* or the murderous fathers in the true crime novels *Fatal Vision* and *Blind Faith,* on back to McGinnis' own troubled relationship with an alcoholic father.

Thompson, Didion, and Mailer frequently write in a first-person style that perhaps encourages the influence that their journalism is a mode of autobiography. McGinnis, McPhee, and Wolfe, on the other hand, tend to be conspicuous by their absence as characters. Stull still acknowledges this.

"Wolfe's work may not be intensely autobiographical," he admits at one point. Still, he contends that every work of literary journalism constitutes "a testament of an (authorial) self."

What he is saying, in effect, is that literary journalists write about themselves even when they aren't directly writing about themselves. Their autobiographies emerge not through childhood recollections or dramatic confessions, but through their choice and interpretation of subject matter, their narrative voices, and their indentification with specific patterns of American life. Thus for McPhee, McGinnis, Wolfe, et. al, each journalistic occasion is an opportunity to symbolically affirm personal beliefs, interests, and values, a chance to impose a subjective order on a world bewilderingly in flux.

Stull's reading of representative works of literary journalism as metaphors of self is quirky and provocative, and merits attention. If the book has a drawback, it is that it is written in wretched academese. For someone who insists that style is "a way of creating self and arresting experience in a moment of language," Stull shows a curious inability to write a graceful sentence. His turgid, jargon-riddled prose makes the book seem a lot longer than it actually is.

Howard Good, SUNY-New Paltz

•

Mary Vipond, ***Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932***. Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. 380 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

For many a student, the history of Canadian broadcasting is exclusively the history of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. As a consequence, there has been a decided public bias to the limited scholarship in this field. Canadian historians such as Frank Peers, Austin Weir, Paul Rutherford and Marc Raboy have concentrated their efforts on the numerous broadcasting controversies which began with the emergence of public broadcasting with the Broadcasting Act of 1932 which created the CBC's predecessor, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC). Perusing the shelves of most of the university libraries in this country, researchers could easily conclude that when Sarnoff, Armstrong, DeForest, Paley, and others were working to build an American broadcasting system, little was happening in Canada. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Mary Vipond's intelligent and articulate study, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932*, is a work a long time in coming and well worth waiting for. With the exception of Part Three when Vipond reviews the work of the Aird Commission, which resulted in the CRBC, Vipond introduces her readers to long forgotten but critical figures in the embryonic years of Canadian broadcasting. As she points out, broadcasting in Canada did have a prehistory, one founded in private entrepreneurship. By 1932, the country was being served by a string of radio stations stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, many of which were dependent on American popular programming for survival. These operations had been established by an unusual coalition of newspaper owners, electronics manufacturers and radio "dreamers," some of whom lost fortunes, others of whom left fortunes.

Vipond's study, while vitally and energetically written, does not descend into hero worship. Her characters are a combination of strength and frailty. Nonetheless, the readers cannot help but feel a sense of warmth and respect for the pioneers such as Ralph Ashcroft who ran Toronto's CKGW on

behalf of whiskey traders Gooderham and Worts, and Sir Henry Thornton who used radio as an attraction to get people to ride his Canadian National Railway trains.

Vipond's journey begins in the mid-nineteenth century with the introduction of electric telegraphy to Canada and then proceeds carefully to the introduction of wireless communications, particularly that of marine-land connections. As she points out, the decision to use the federal Department of Marine and Fisheries as the licensing agent for Canadian stations, was steeped in historical precedent. The groundwork laid by these operators and numerous amateurs provided the incentive to begin commercial broadcasting in Canada, the first of which was undertaken by the Canadian Marconi station XWA in Montreal in 1919. From that point on, the reader is treated to a well-woven tale of people, places and events, all of which have some claim on the foundation of today's modern broadcasting system.

To appreciate the enormity of Vipond's task, the growth of radio in this critical decade was regarded by many as an interesting peculiarity. As she notes, radio could not be considered a mass media until the turn of the thirties, As a result, many of these early visionaries failed to keep records or document their activities. Vipond is true to her reader. There is no blurring of the lines. Facts are facts, assumptions are assumptions and conclusions, conclusions.

Would American readers benefit from this work? Most definitely. As Vipond notes, the clamor for public broadcasting in Canada was driven to a large degree by nationalists who wanted to offer alternatives to American popular radio, most of which could be received through Canadian affiliates or off-air across the border. Vipond's research explains in part why Canadian and American broadcasting pursued such different paths and retain significant differences today.

In the final analysis, Mary Vipond has provided us with a work covering a period in Canadian broadcasting history which has been virtually ignored. This readable true "mystery" should be on the course outlines of every Canadian communications history program.

David R. Spencer, The University of Western Ontario

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Betsy Wade, ed., ***Forward Postions: The War Correspondence of Homer Bigart.*** Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1992. Cloth, $24.95.

Accounts of war have an enduring appeal, for they deal with the great dramas of our lives. In the coverage of World War II, the Korean War and the early days of the Vietnam War, no American correspondent was more highly regarded than Homer Bigart. No one risked his life more bravely, observed combat with a keener eye, or wrote a more lucid prose style.

Although collections like this sometimes don't wear well, this group of 50 of the best of Bigart's dispatches is well worth the attention of those interested in the human dramas of war and to those who want to study powerful writing. Those wanting to know what battlefield scenes were *really* like as opposed to fiction or the grander accounts of historians, will find out in Bigart's dispatches.

All his articles were written for the *New York Herald Tribune,* where he worked from 1927 to 1955, or the *Times,* where he worked from 1955 until his retirement in 1972.

Bigart got off to a slow start in journalism, serving four years as a copy boy during the Depression for the *Herald Tribune* before he was given a shot at reporting. But he learned that with his pronounced stammer, he could take on a naive air and ask, "G-Gee, I d-didn't g-get all that. C-c-could you p-p-please repeat it?" Most of those being interviewed went to great lengths to be sure he got the story straight, and the result was that his stories always seemed clearer than anyone else's, invariably with rich quotations.

As a sample, here is his description of the return to Corregidor in the Pacific in February of 1945:

> The craft came to a jolting halt. Down came the ramp and we scampered ashore, diving for cover behind a knocked-out tank.
>
> Bullets sang against its blackened hulk, ricochetingwith a vicious twang. For one frantic second we couldn't tell the direction of the fire – there is nothing more futile than lying on the wrong side of protective cover.... There was a quick slamming blast. Chunks of concrete pelted us, and instantly the tank and the group surrounding it melted in a cloud of dust.When the dust cleared I looked around. A mortar shell had burst 20 feet to my left and a jagged fragment sailing over my foxhole instantly killed a soldier immediately to the right.

Bigart retired from the *New York Times* in 1972 and died in April 1991 at age 83. *Forward Positions* was fondly compiled by Betsy Wade, one of Bigart's editors at the *Times*. A forward by Harrison Salisbury provides rich insights into the man and his contributions.

An obituary by one of his colleagues sums up his style:

> His articles remained taut, witty and astringently understated, even when created under deadline pressure and appalling working conditions imposed by war famine; even when they concerned mundane events that lesser reporters regarded as routine. Mr. Bigart knew what counted was not the place but the poetry and that a reporter could create memorable prose from even the most unremarkable happening.

Because Bigart's files from the front often countered official propaganda, he was a thorn in the side of numerous governments – including the American government. His labeling the Allied landing at Anzio during World War II as a failure and a military blunder was sharply at odds with official accounts, only one of the times that he ruffled the feathers of those involved in propaganda.

When he arrived in Saigon to cover the developing Vietnam conflict, Bigart was 54 and already a legend among other reporters. But he did not fit in well in Vietnam. For one thing, he was disgusted at the duplicity and arrogance he saw in official American accounts of the action. In addition, editors had come to distrust the first person narratives that gave Bigart's prose such power.

Wade has done a real service in bringing these fervent dispatches to light. One might ask that each might be gived more context, but considering the worth of Bigart's prose, that is a minor fault. Those who are curious or are intrigued by the history of these times and places will find *Forward Positions* rewarding and enlightening.

Jack A. Nelson, Brigham Young University

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Ronald J. Zboray, ***A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public.*** Oxford University Press,1993. 326 pp. Cloth, $45.

In the past years, historians have turned their attention to the growth and nature of reading in the history of this country. Ronald Zboray's new book, *A Fictive People*, is a highly sophisticated addition to the superb work already done in this area by scholars such as William Gilmore and David Paul Nord.

Zboray examines the socio-economic context of reading in antebellum America, and his analysis of reading – of production, distribution, and consumption of literature by Americans – is masterful. This book constitutes an example of how historical work should be done – through, careful analysis of the context of the time.

Book publishing was a difficult business. Competition was fierce, cost-cutting common, and knowledge about consumers' interests extraordinarily limited. Zboray examines the ways in which publishers tried to understand the market – through trade papers, trade sales, periodical depots, and traveling agents.

Distribution systems influenced the nature of reading as well. Zboray examines the travels of one particular book peddler (Parson Weems) over a 30-year period and notes the peddler's conservative marketing practices. The key to antebellum distribution was the railroad, and Zboray's work builds admirably on that of other railroad scholars (notably Fogel). The railroad shaped the avenues of book distribution and reoriented readers – outward to a national culture and away from strictly local concerns. (There are interesting parallels to Elizabeth Eisenstein's work on how print culture facilitated dispersed intellectual communities.) Zboray contends that, "The railroad and the printed word laid the foundation for an entirely different sense of identity, one written on a national scale and within what would become an increasingly integrated and rationalized economic system."

Zboray devotes substantial space and effort in analyzing the interests and needs of readers. Antebellum readers were an active, indiscriminating, and generally unpredictable lot. Their reading intersts were shaped in a variety of ways. First, basic institutions – such as family, church, Sunday school, and schools – promoted literacy but also limited it by emphasizing the practical and utilitarian. No fiction, please! The abundance of newspapers also provided ample reading material – the vast majority of it non-fiction. The "popular positivism" of news and self-improvement movements further discouraged the reading of fiction.

Despite all these limitations, despite this "dominant utilitarianism," American readers still found their way to fiction. If nothing else, the tumult of American life itself provided a shove in that direction: "For readers trying to maintain a sense of community in the fact of the new order, fiction may have been one of the few places to turn to find the last vestiges of preindustrial

emotional expression and social solidarity." Readers were highly eclectic in what they wanted, and women read as widely as men. No evidence exists of a separate sphere of women's reading.

The methods and sources used by Zboray in all of this are creative and serve him well. He's analyzed letters, book auctions, individual book distributors' records, book advertisements, book store sales figures, a bookstore's stock (and how it was organized), and library borrowing records in his efforts to detail the reading habits of Americans. The documentation is more than ample; the bibliography is an extraordinarily useful guide to American life and letters in the early nineteenth century.

Gerald J. Baldasty, University of Washington

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Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism* or propose a book for review should contact Professor Thomas Connery, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. 55105.

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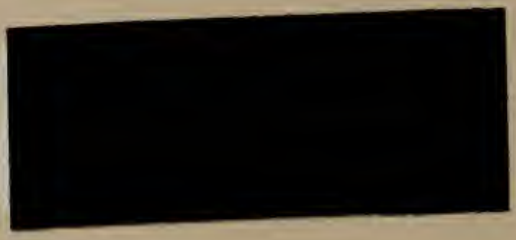

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The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana.....On Wisconsin Women: Working for their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage.....American Rhetoric and the Vietnam War.....West of Eden: Writers in Hollywood, 1928-1940.....The Critical Press and the New Deal: The Press Versus Presidential Power.....The Story of Telecommunications....and many more.

From the Editor's Desk...

THE MASSIVE INTERNATIONAL REMEMBRANCE of the fiftieth anniversary of the Normandy invasion will, as they say, be history by the time this issue reaches *AJ* readers. And, it was good history. Like good literature, the coverage we read and watched was susceptible of interpretation at a number of levels. It was history lesson. It was drama. It was horror and triumph revisited. It was (a) a collective tribute to the indominable human spirit, or (b) an indictment of man's inhumanity to man, or (c) a colossal piece of good luck, or (d) fill in your own summation. As contemporary journalism, the quality of D-Day material, from hometown newspapers to network specials, has been impressive. Good journalists not only know how to *cover* a story, they know how to *tell* a story. *The Atlanta Journal-Constituion*, for instance, assembled a collection of old-soldier reflections and home front recollections that taught us all how it was to be alive in that time and in those places. Nineteen-year-olds who stormed Omaha Beach or jumped from a C-47 are furniture store owners or retired accountants or members of the House of Representatives or whatever in Atlanta or Athens or South Bend, most with a positive and grateful outlook on life forged in challenging moments a half-century ago. The camera's eye of a Public Broadcasting System documentary blended the scenes of D-Day with contemporary interviews and the clear voice of historian David McCulloch. General Norman Schartzkopf and Dan Rather, no strangers to battlefields, got together in France to tour the beaches and listen to survivors. CBS commentator and World War II *Stars and Stripes* reporter Andy Rooney, usually a very funny man in his "60 Minutes" segments, was somber and dark in recalling the human cost to free Europe from Nazi domination. What, he asked, was there about this to support the label of "good war"? General Dwight Eisenhower's son John, who served in the European campaign just out of West Point, remembered it as a time when everyone did their duty, without question. The aerial views of the seemingly endless rows of crosses in an American military ceremony just behind the now-peaceful Normandy beaches, tied it together, without comment. The written word, in magazines and and a flood of books revisiting the critical battle of the war, soared in its own way. The leader of the most powerful nation in the world, not born when teen-agers were gazing over the edge of landing craft off Normandy beaches, carried off the free world's tributes with dignity.

You may be recalling the adage, "War makes rattling good history," from the pen of Thomas Hardy. Well, of course it does, but that's not quite the point. Those of us who make some slice of history a part of our professional lives ought to relax and enjoy and applaud. If a nation can sit down and absorb history from its newspapers, magazines and television sets, we can take heart, if only momentarily. Amidst our interminable debates on the role of media history in journalism education or the most relevant approaches or the relative place in history of this group or that medium, the D-Day remembrance reminds us that history well told is engaging, inescapable, captivating, sobering, inspiring, and maybe even useful to most of our fellow citizens. They'll all fill in the blank after the words, "And history teaches us that ..." whether they realize it or not. This may the best and longest lasting tribute to those who launched a crusade in Europe fifty years ago to undo the work of a madman.

&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.

A SPECIAL ISSUE OF *AJ* under the title, "World War II and the Mass Media," is in the works. It will be published in 1995, marking the fiftieth anniverary of the end of that "good" but awful conflict. Invited essays on the historiography of the period are under preparation by these authors:Margaret Blanchard, New Carolina, free expression; Patrick Washburn, Ohio, the minority press; Louise Benjamin, Georgia, broadcasting;Betty Winfield, Missouri, the government and the press; and Maurine Beasley, Maryland, women and wartime journalism. We encourage and solicit your research manuscripts in this area, and have already received some. Deadline for manuscripts for this issue will be 30 September 1994.....**FOR THOSE WHO ARE** trying to fit these issues mailed from Athens in proper order with others in their *AJ* collection, some guidance. The immediate past editor, John Pauly, late of Tulsa University, now at Saint Louis University, will issue Volume 9 and Numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 10. So, you will eventually have all that you are entitled to as member or subscriber...**THE FOURTEENTH EDITION** of the *Chicago Manual of Style* is now at your neighborhood bookstore. A page turner it isn't, but it's what we use...**IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY** as to whether *AJ* will consider the use of illustrations, the answer is yes. Suggest this when you submit a manuscript, if you wish. Authors are responsible for securing copyright permission, in writing...**SELECTED BACK ISSUES of AJ** are available. They include: Volume 7, Number 1, Winter 1990; Volume 7, Number 2, Spring, 1990; Volume 7, Number 4, Fall, 1990; Volume 8, Number 1, Winter, 1991; Volume 8, Number 2, Spring/Summer 1991; Volume 8, Number 4, Fall, 1991. The cost is $5 per issue for addresses in the United States, $7.50 overseas. Send your needs and check to the editor, made out to the AJHA....

The Commercial Roots of Foreign Correspondence: The *New York Herald* and Foreign News, 1835-1839

By Ulf Jonas Bjork

Journalism historians have traditionally seen James Gordon Bennett as the "inventor" of regular foreign correspondence. This article, a discussion of the foreign news coverage of the New York Herald, *concludes that the correspondent network established by Bennett in the late 1830s should be seen in the context of his rivalry with the established commercial dailies in New York.*

> "Werry important news."
> "What is it, Tom?"
> "The Kamchatkans have whipped the Russians."
> "No affair of ours, Tom – it won't affect the funds in Wall street, nor the price of George Hawes' beef in the Fulton market, nor Sweeney's coffee, nor one of Brundage's superb coats, or exquisite vests, made by that unrivaled vest maker, Miss E.R."
> "One Leaf from the Life of an Editor," *New York Herald*, 18 May 1838.

In September 1836, James Gordon Bennett, publisher of the *New York Herald*, launched one of his frequent attacks on New York's commercial papers, accusing them of being "full of dull, dry details of foreign affairs, of no interest whatever here."[1] It was understandable if his readers were somewhat confused by that condemnation, for less than a month earlier, Bennett had boasted that "the *Herald* alone knows how to dish up the foreign news."[2]

1. *New York Herald*, 6 September 1836, 2.
2. *Herald*, 16 August 1836, 2.

Mirroring Bennett's contradictory claims, histories of American journalism have seen the *Herald* and other penny papers as both shunning foreign news in favor of local events and pioneering techniques for gathering information from abroad. For the most part, the presence of foreign news in the penny press has been noted only in passing, and the purpose of this article is to discuss the role of that news in more detail and explain its origin and purpose. Specifically, the article examines the penny press view of foreign news and how information from abroad was gathered. The focus is the *New York Herald*, because that paper has been singled out for its innovations in foreign news coverage on one hand and domestic coverage on the other. Moreover, for the study of the early penny press the historian is largely left with the columns of the papers themselves, and Bennett was never shy about letting readers know what he thought. As the above quotations make clear, the record he left behind was not always a model of consistency, but compared with the actual news content of his paper it presents a view of how the penny papers dealt with events abroad.

For reasons explained below, this article concentrates on the years 1835-1839, a formative period in the life of these papers, when innovations were made and techniques developed. If the *Herald* later earned a reputation as a newspaper unsurpassed in its foreign coverage, the foundations for that reputation were laid in the first few years of its existence.

First is necessary to account for the role of that news in the American press as a whole. To begin with, it is important to note that the share of foreign items of overall content has declined since the colonial era, when the bulk of American newspaper content was news from abroad.[3] Several historians have attributed this decline to a growing concern with American matters, evident not only in the press but in U.S. society as a whole in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[4]

Others stress that the shrinking proportion of foreign news was due primarily to developments within journalism itself. Donald Shaw, for instance, sees the change in content evident in his extensive study of the press between 1820 and 1860 as the result of newspapers "finding news closer to home," and Michael Schudson's more general discussion of content comes to the same conclusion, noting that newspapers in the 1830s began publishing news that

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3. Long-term studies of American newspaper content are few, and vary greatly in papers and time periods studied; see Jurgen Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage and International Flow of News over Three Centuries," *Gazette: International Journal for Mass Communication Studies*, 38 (1987): 147-80; Donald R. Avery, "The Emerging American Newspaper: Discovering the Homefront," *American Journalism* 1(Winter 1984):51-66; Donald Lewis Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News, 1820-1860," *Journalism History* 8 (Summer 1981):38-50. Referred to but not extensively related are two studies of elite newspapers by Michael Emery and Frank Luther Mott; George Garneu, "Foreign news grows, but is reported here less," *Editor & Publisher*, 10 February 1990, 18; Mott, *The News in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 124. A sixth historical study analyzes foreign news but not in relation to overall content; see Al Hester, Susan Parker Humes and Christopher Bickers, "Foreign News Content in Colonial North American Papers, 1764-1775," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (Spring 1980): 18-22.

4. Wilke, "Foreign News Coverage," 158-59; Avery, "Emerging American Newspaper," 52, 64.

was "not just foreign but domestic, and not just national but local."[5] Shaw is cautious about singling out any particular type of newspaper as the catalyst in the shift away from foreign news, but Schudson and others pinpoint the appearance of the penny papers in New York and other large Eastern cities in the 1830s as the starting point of this "revolution" in the definition of news.[6]

The claim that the penny newspapers were the ones that began the process of relegating foreign news to an ever-smaller share of overall content is contradicted, however, by standard histories of newsgathering, which point to an enduring interest in foreign news on the part of the penny press. Leading one-penny papers engaged in a vigorous race for foreign news from incoming ships with the traditional commercial dailies in New York in the 1830s, according to T.H. Giddings, and Richard Schwarzlose describes the appearance of the penny press as a "competitive shock wave" among the established dailies in the gathering of news in New York harbor, and he concludes that reader appetite for foreign news was as great as ever in the 1830s.[7] To Schwarzlose, the audience for foreign news was an elite of merchants who used information from Europe for stock market speculation and other business purposes.[8] That was a readership which the early penny papers sought to reach beyond, and it is in that light that one should examine their attitude toward news from abroad.

In the case of the *Sun*, the first successful penny newspaper in New York, historians have interpreted the promise of its opening issue in 1833, to "lay before the public. . . all the news of the day," as a focus on local events of a human-interest nature.[9] An examination of the *Sun*'s columns shows, however, that foreign items appeared from the start and increased in number as the paper got under way. Thus, in early 1834, the *Sun* was publishing foreign items in every issue.[10] The character of many of those items made them different from what the New York commercial press offered merchants needing newsworthy and current information for business purposes, and it was very similar to that of the *Sun*'s domestic news. Several items were undated London crime stories, while

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5. Shaw, "At the Crossroads," 43, 39; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 22. Cf. similar conclusions in Mott, *American Journalism:: A History, 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 243; John Tebbel, *The Compact History of the American Newspaper* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1963), 97; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media,* (7th ed., (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1992), 97.

6. Mott, *American Journalism*, 243; Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 14; Shaw, "At the Crossroads," passim; also, Shaw, "Critical Response: Why We Need 'Myths,'" *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 412-14.

7. Giddings, "Rushing the Transatlantic News in the 1830s and 1840s," *New York Historical Society* 42 (January 1958): 47-59; Schwarzlose, *The Nation's Newsbrokers, Vol. 1: The Formative Years, from Pretelegraph to 1865* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1989) 21, 17, 35.

8. Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, 17.

9. *New York Sun*, 3 September 1833, 2; Mott, *American Journalism*, 222; James L. Crouthamel, "The Newspaper Revolution in New York, 1830-1860," *New York History* 45 (April 1964): 94.

10. For early examples, see *Sun*(1833), 3 September, 3; 9 September, 2; 11 September, 2; 24 October, 1.

others, equally timeless, dealt with strange events such as a Sicilian man being buried alive.[11]

The source for this type of material was European newspapers and magazines, and the *Sun*'s use of that source for entertaining human-interest material from abroad may well have been novel. It was not the only kind of foreign news published in the paper, however, for barely two months after its opening issue the paper began publishing digests of news from the European press. In form and content (and newsgathering method), these digests varied little from what the New York mercantile dailies and other established papers of the day offered, and the Sun's own comment that its news was "as authentic as any they ever got from the most 'respectable sixpennies' " supports that impression.[12]

In its European digests, the penny newcomer put as much emphasis on political events, as opposed to human-interest stories, as the commercial dailies. It also stressed the timeliness of the news, frequently noting that the information offered was the latest available. Foreign newspapers were brought over on sailing ships, typically mail-carrying packets, and that made it impossible for the *Sun* to run digests at regular intervals, but the same situation faced other papers as well.[13] The penny paper also followed the lead of other papers when employing sources other than foreign newspapers, such as shipmasters, passengers and private letters.[14] Another traditional source of foreign material, travel letters written specifically for the paper, appeared in the *Sun* on two occasions, but the paper did not employ its first regular foreign correspondent until 1843.[15]

In sum, the content of New York's pioneer penny paper does not support the assertion that the penny press "redefined news" by concentrating on local events at the expense of occurrences abroad, for, in the *Sun*'s columns, foreign items remained an important part of the paper. Moreover, its form and content were not substantially different from that of the commercial press, if an exception is made for the items dealing foreign crime and strange events, and these were declining in prominence after the first few months. If the form and content of the Sun's foreign news was traditional, so were the methods employed to obtain it. It was up to the next major penny paper in New York to lay claim to making major innovations in the field of foreign news gathering.

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11. *Sun*, 18 November 1833, 4; 30 November, 4; 2 January 1834, 4; 14 January, 3. It should be remembered that the *Sun*'s notorious "moon hoax" purported to have a foreign dateline: South Africa; see Mott, *American Journalism*, 225-26.

12. *Sun*, 29 December 1833, 2. For digests, see these 1833 issues 24 October, 2; 2 November, 2; 18 November, 2; 21 November, 1; 27 November 27,2; 2 December, 2; 11 December, 2; 12 December, 2. For the tradition of clipping foreign newspapers, see Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 23; Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, 17-18.

13. Giddings, "Rushing the Transa tlantic News," 50-51; Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, 35-36. The average interval between the *Sun*'s digest intervals was 6.5 days in January-February 1834, roughly the same as that for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *Patriot*, a mercantile paper.

14. *Sun*, 19 November 1833, 2; 11 December 1833, 2; 24 December 1833, 2; 31 December 1833, 2; 10 January 1834, 2; 22 January 1834, 1; 5 February 1834, 2; 7 February 1834, 2; 13 March 1834, 2; Robert W. Desmond, *The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978), 87-89.

15. *Sun*, 24 October 1833, 1; 12 February 1834,2; Robert W. Desmond, *The Press and World Affairs* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), 17.

The *Sun's* role in the development of foreign correspondence in the American press may have received next to no attention from historians; the contributions of the *Herald*, on the other hand, have been discussed all the more. Robert Desmond credits Bennett's paper with establishing "the first American system, and the first extensive world system, of foreign correspondence," and John Hohenberg sees the paper as ranking with the *Times* of London as one of the few papers able to operate an independent foreign news service predating and rivaling that of the international news agencies.[16]

The *Herald's* prominence in gathering foreign news was, to some extent, acknowledged in Bennett's own lifetime. In 1857, a visitor to the *Herald* office marveled at the paper having "correspondents in all quarters of the globe," and an 1873 article in Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* told readers that "you can find a *Herald* man in every nook and cranny of the Earth."[17] Further testimony to the prominence the newspaper had gained in foreign affairs by the 1850s was the stream to the *Herald* office of visitors wishing to offer their services as correspondents or pointing the paper's attention toward certain foreign topics.[18] It is clear, however, that the positive assessment that many historians give of Bennett's contributions stems, to a large extent, from the account of one of the earliest journalism historians, Fredric Hudson. Hudson, who happened to be Bennett's former managing editor, considered his employer the originator of "organized European correspondence," and many subsequent accounts have passed on that view.[19]

It is also Hudson's view of how foreign correspondence started that shape standard histories of news gathering, possibly because of its simplicity. Hudson, who joined the *Herald* staff in 1837, pronounces the year 1838 to be a watershed in Bennett's news collection from abroad.[20] It seems an appropriately dramatic choice, for in the spring of that year, the *Sirius*, the first steamer to enter New York directly from Great Britain, docked in the city's harbor, enthusiastically saluted by the publisher of the *Herald.* Bennett had followed its voyage for more than a month, predicting that "manners, arts, commerce, the philosophy of life, the refinement of the old world, its wealth and distinguished personages, will all flow to America by this channel."[21]

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16. Desmond, *The Press*, 16-17; John Hohenberg, *Foreign Correspondents: The Great Reporters and Their Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 33.
17. Clippings, Obituary Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, Frederic Hudson Papers, Concord Public Library, Concord, Mass.
18. See for instance: Frederic Hudson diaries, entries, 7 January 1851; 15 January; 10 February; 21 May 1853: 25 May; 7 April 1854; 12 December; 8 January 1855; 22 and 23 January; 4 February; 20 Febraury; 14 March; Hudson papers.
19. Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 451; Don C. Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts, Father and Son* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928), 60-61; Oliver Carlson, *The Man Who Made News: James Gordon Bennett* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1942), 201-02; Tebbel, *The Compact History*, 98.
20. Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 451. Hudson was hired to collect shipping information and foreign news in New York harbor. See Woodward Hudson, "Fragmentary Chronicles of Freder ic and Eliza Woodward Hudson, 1817 to 1876," typed manuscript, Hudson papers, 26.
21. Herald, 24 March, 1838. Bennett's interest in transatlantic streamships dated at least to 1835, and he had long awaited the arrival of the *Sirius*; *Herald*, 8 October 1835,2; 6 September 1836, 2; 7 April 1838, 2; 19 April 1838, 2; 20 April 1838, 2;

With his usual flair, Bennett announced that he had decided to book passage to England on the return voyage of the steamer, and he made it clear that his trip would have major consequences for the *Herald*'s involvement in gathering foreign news. Not only would the publisher himself send correspondence from overseas, he would also attempt to "establish correspondents, on a permanent footing, at London, Paris, Bristol, Liverpool, Cork, &c."[22] It would, he promised, be "a corps of correspondents, such as have never been attached to a New York paper."[23]

The enthusiastic promotion issuing forth from the columns of the *Herald* together with the authority given to Hudson's account have led many journalism historians to see a clear causal relationship between a major innovation in transportation technology and the practice of independent gathering of foreign news by the American press. According to this view, it was the regular contact between Europe and America made possible by transatlantic steamers that gave the *Herald*'s publisher the incentive to establish the first network of foreign correspondents. A closer study of the *Herald* itself suggests, however, that April 1838 was less of a turning point than Hudson and Bennett made it out to be.[24]

Looking first at Bennett's own editorial promises, a case can be made for steamers having little initial impact on news from Europe. About to make another trip to Europe in 1847, after nearly seven years of regular steamer traffic between Britain and North America, Bennett still held out the promise to his readers to "establish permanent correspondents of the highest order, for the columns of this journal, in all the principal cities of the old continent – embracing London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Rome, Naples, &c."[25] Through a close study of the columns of the *Herald*, an even more persuasive argument can be made that the use of foreign correspondents predated Bennett's voyage back to his native land aboard the *Sirius* in 1838.

For one thing, it is evident that the *Herald* publisher took a great deal of interest in foreign news and ways to gather it almost from the paper's start. On the average, European news was printed every four days in the fall of 1835. Some of the foreign items followed the lead of the *Sun* in being accounts of undated and odd events whose primary purpose appeared to be to fill space. The presence of this type of foreign item in the two penny papers seems simple enough to explain: European newspapers and magazines were a ready source of voluminous material which required little extra manpower to produce.[26]

As with the *Sun*, however, a substantial share of the foreign news in the *Herald* were straightforward reviews of current events in Europe. For this news, timeliness was important and was frequently indicated with headings such

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23 April 1838, 2. On the impact of the arrival of the *Sirius*, see Giddings, "Rushing the Transatlantic News," 47-48; Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, 22-23, 34-35.

22. *Herald*, 25 April 1838,2.

23. *Herald*, 20 July 1838,2.

24. Bennett had, for instance, apparently decided to go to Europe months before the arrival of the *Sirius*, see *Herald*, 5 December 1837, 2.

25. *Herald*, 25 May 1847; clipping, Hudson papers.

26. The *Herald* ran "London Police" stories twice in the fall of 1835; see also items under the heading "Foreign extracts", *Herald*, 30 October 1835, 1; 20 November 1835, 1; 15 June 1837, 1; 22 June 1837, 1; 23 June 1837, 1. Filler material made up half of all foreign content in 1836.

as "Six Days Later from Europe." At times, the *Herald*, like its penny rival, thought it sufficient to tell readers little else than that newspapers from Europe had arrived in the office and that "we cannot perceive that there is much news," but more extensive news reviews were the rule.[27] A typical foreign-news column in the fall of 1835 relied on English papers brought by the packet *Columbus* and informed readers of proceedings in the British Parliament, the activities of the royal family, a battle in the civil war in Spain, changes in the Portuguese government, the outbreak of cholera in France, and poems and novels published in British magazines.[28] Frequently, such foreign events were allowed to crowd out "original articles."[29]

Bennett's interest in foreign news was also reflected in his editorial comments, which show that he thought news from abroad was important and growing more so as the *Herald*'s first year came to an end. In December 1835, his rivalry with the commercial dailies spilled over into the gathering of foreign news when the *Herald* accused the "Wall Street newspapers" of suppressing items from abroad in order to allow for speculation in commodities, implying that this order of things was about to come to an end thanks to James Gordon Bennett.[30] In May 1836, Bennett introduced a digest from England with a boastful account of how his cutter the *Herald* had beaten the news boat of the *Courier and Enquirer*, one of the largest commercial papers and the former employer of the *Herald* publisher.[31]

In July, Bennett's criticism of the Wall Street papers continued, this time with attacks on their lackluster gathering of foreign news. Giving the details of how he had beaten the Wall Street competition to the latest English news, Bennett proceeded to give his plans for the future, promising "in a few short months" to "outstrip every person in Wall Street in procuring early foreign news, as I have long since done in getting full, accurate, and deeply interesting local intelligence of every kind of quality."[32] Soon afterwards, he distanced his foreign news coverage not only from the sixpennies but also from the other penny papers. He put down the commercial papers because their coverage of a European story "did not pick out the cream and serve it as we did," and he chided the penny press for missing the story altogether.[33]

As 1837 got under way, it became increasingly clear that it was the Wall Street press and not the *Sun* and other penny papers that Bennett saw as his rivals in the gathering of foreign news. Frequent editorial boasts proclaimed that the *Herald* had European news hours if not days in advance of its six-penny competition.[34] In a longer editorial comment, the *Herald* publisher announced

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27. *Herald*, 5 September 1935, 2; 16 November 1935, 2; 27 December 1836, 2; "later" in this case meant that the information had a later date than what appeared in previous issues and competing papers, since no sailing passage was made in less than 16 days; Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, 35-36; cf. *Sun*, 20 January 1834,2; 2 December 1834, 2; 11 December 1834, 2.
28. *Herald*, 8 September 1835, 2.
29. *Herald*, 30 November 1835, 2.
30. *Herald*, 14 December 1835, 2; 15 December 1835, 2.
31. *Herald*, 6 May 1836, 2.
32. *Herald*, 22 July 1836, 2; 14 July, 2; 15 July, 2.
33. *Herald*, 16 August 1836, 2.
34. *Herald*, 13 March 1837, 1; 22 March 1837, 2; 23 March 1837, 2; 28 March 1837, 2.

that "the commercial community has been astonished at the fullness and accuracy of the *Herald* in its ship news and foreign department."[35] Again accusing the Wall Street papers of delaying news publication to help speculators, Bennett crowed that his boats were putting an end to that practice by meeting incoming ships farther out to sea and speedily conveying the news to the *Herald* office in Anne Street.[36]

The boasts about the *Herald*'s success in gathering foreign news continued through the fall, until Bennett announced in December that "the organization of this department is in excellent order, and the line of communication between the packet ships beyond Sandy Hook and Anne street is complete."[37] Supposedly, the sixpennies were in such a panic over the success of the *Herald* news gathering operation that they had resorted to accusing Bennett's paper of making up its news. Dismissing that charge, the publisher assured his readers that the *Herald*'s "news boats are always on the broad waters, and our news collectors are men of integrity and character."[38]

Stung by further accusations that he had fabricated news, Bennett next revealed the system he had set up for gathering news from abroad. Two schooners, the *Celeste* and the *Teazer*, met ships out to sea, while a smaller boat, the *Tom Boxer*, plied the waters of the harbor. As the winter made the harbor unapproachable, the schooners would land their information on Long Island, from where it would reach the *Herald* office by pony express.[39] As the winter months came, Bennett announced that the express system had proven very effective.[40]

By then, the claim of the superiority of the *Herald* in foreign news gathering was already part of a standing notice, which announced that "for many weeks past we have beaten the Wall street papers in ship news, foreign and domestic arrivals, and local intelligence of every kind."[41] The news columns of the *Herald* do not bear out all of Bennett's boasts, but they do show that his paper was moving closer to the commercial press it so frequently claimed to be superior to. If the *Herald* in its first two years was similar in content to the *Sun*, it was moving away from its penny predecessor in the last few years of the 1830s. It was evident, for instance, in the growth of market reports and shipping news, which in 1836 had accounted for a little more than 5 percent of the *Herald*'s content but by 1837 had jumped to more than one-fifth.[42]

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35. *Herald*, 29 March 1837, 2.

36. On the practice of speculating and its relationship to foreign news, see Schwarzlose, *Nation's Newsbrokers*, 16-17.

37. *Herald*, 4 December 1837, 2; 7 August 1837, 2; 16 September 1837, 2; 21 October 1837, 1; 4 December 1937, 2; 6 December 1937, 2; 27 December 1937, 2, 4; 5 January 1838, 4.

38. *Herald*, 13 December 1837, 2.

39. *Herald*, 16 December 1837, 2.

40. *Herald* 29 January 1838, 2.

41. *Herald*, 28 December 1837;19 January 1838.

42. The following content discussion is based on a sample of issues from the first two weeks of two randomly selected months, April and August, for the years 1836-1839, measured in column space of non-advertising matter (incomplete holdings necessitated the exclusion of 1835). For 1838 and 1839, shipping and market news accounted for 22 and 26 percent, respectively.

When it came to items from abroad, their share was also increasing, although not as dramatically as shipping and market news. Making up 11 percent of the *Herald*'s content in 1836, foreign material rose to 14 percent the following year and 18 percent in 1838.[43] In its treatment of that material, the *Herald* was again moving closer to the sixpennies, both in frequency of publication and type of information. In 1836, the average interval between the publication of items from abroad in Bennett's paper was eight days, a number that shrank to less than five in 1837 and less than three the following year, bringing the *Herald*'s frequency in line with that of leading Wall Street papers such as the *Journal of Commerce* and the *Courier and Enquirer*.[44]

The character of foreign items was changing as well. As noted above, half the material from abroad was made up of fillers in the *Sun* tradition in 1836; that share was down to one tenth in 1838, when items such as anecdotes from the life of Napoleon were being replaced with current events abroad and, more significantly, economic news. Bennett had started publishing reports from the Liverpool cotton market as early as the spring of 1836, and by the summer of that year, information about the French commodity exchanges also began to appear, sent from Le Havre. In the fall, the *Herald* started publishing reports from the London Money Market.[45] The following year, market reports accompanied almost every European digest. Such information about foreign exchanges was not an invention of Bennett's but had long been a staple of the Wall Street papers. The *Courier and Enquirer*, for example, was publishing reports from London, Liverpool, Havre, Paris, and Antwerp on a regular basis when Bennett began making them part of the *Herald*'s foreign news in 1836.[46]

Foreign market reports still accounted for only one-tenth of the *Herald's* news from abroad in 1837 and 1838, but their significance lay less in the amount published than in the way the information was gathered, for it was from the paper's demand for commercial intelligence that its first regular use of foreign correspondents was to come. Before discussing the growth of Bennett's correspondent network, however, the tradition of newspapers employing special contributors abroad should be brought up.

Hudson gave his employer most of the credit for laying the foundations for correspondence from abroad, but the former *Herald* editor admitted that such correspondence had appeared in the American press both before 1838 and before the birth of Bennett's newspaper.[47] The *Herald* itself had used foreign correspondents on and off since 1835, when a writer aboard a U.S. naval ship

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43. For Shaw's larger sample, the figure for the 1833-46 period was 14 percent; see Shaw, "At the Crossroads," 42.

44. For the interval calculations, all *Herald* issues of 1836-1838 were examined; randomly selected sample months of the *Courier and Enquirer* (July-September 1836) and the *Journal of Commerce* (July-August 1837) yielded average intervals of 3.8 and 2.4 days, respectively.

45. *Herald*, 29 February 1836; 7 July, 2; 25 July, 2; 5 September, 2; 7 October; 14 October, 2; 3 November, 2; 2 December,2.

46. *Courier* and *Enquirer*, July-September 1836.

47. Hudson, *Journalism in the United States*, 451. British newspapers like the *London Times* had had such a network in place for several years; see Hohenberg, *Foreign Correspondents*, 24; *Times*, January-February 1830 and January-February 1834.

contributed eight "Sketches in South America."[48] Undated, they had the character of travelogue and conveyed little newsworthy information.

Far closer to the idea of the foreign correspondent as an observer of current events abroad were two letters published in early 1836. Written by a "distinguished American gentleman," they told of the resolution of a crisis between the United States and France. A similar report came from London in late February, when an anonymous writer related the situation in the British Parliament. A few days later, the *Herald* ran a letter from Hudson's Merchants News Room in Liverpool, which dealt with both British and French affairs. Another letter from Hudson's in July dealt primarily with market conditions, although it also touched on matters in Ireland and France.[49] No more correspondences appeared in 1836, but as Bennett announced in November that the *Herald* would be enlarged, he claimed that one of the imminent improvements would be the engagement of "foreign correspondents of all kinds."[50]

Readers would have to wait for that promise to be fulfilled, for while domestic correspondents contributed with some regularity in early 1837, the main source of news from abroad remained foreign newspapers. In March, however, several correspondences from abroad began appearing, among them letters from brokerage firms in Liverpool and Le Havre about British and French market conditions and a letter from London claiming that the British were about to buy Cuba.[51] From then on, letters from Liverpool and Le Havre were fairly regular, accompanied by occasional "private correspondences" from London. The former dealt almost exclusively with the markets, while the London letters, by different writers, sometimes also discussed politics and the theatre.[52]

It was economic information that dominated the dispatches of the regular contributors, however, who were located in principals centers of commerce. When Bennett announced in August that his paper was "adding every day" to its list of foreign correspondents, he claimed "stationary" correspondents in New Orleans, Jamaica, London and Liverpool, with "Paris and elsewhere" soon to be included.[53] By December, the paper also claimed to have correspondents in Le Havre and Paris.[54]

That month, abortive rebellions in Canada made the *Herald* expand, on a temporary basis, its staff of foreign correspondents. The hostilities themselves were short-lived, but with some of the insurgents holding out on Navy Island in

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48. *Herald*, 8-12, 14, 17 and 22 September 1835.
49. *Herald*, 2 January 1836, 2; 12 January 1836, 2; 29 February 1836, 2; 2 March 1836, 1; 7 July1836, 2.
50. *Herald*, 21 November 1836, 2.
51. *Herald*, 17 March 1837, 2; 21 March, 2; 22 March, 2.
52. *Herald* (1837),25 March, 2; 28 March, 2; 6 April, 2; 25 April, 2; 2 June, 2; 3 June, 2; 8 June, 2; 13 June, 2; 6 July, 1; 11 July, 2; 26 July, 2; 1 August, 2; 7 August, 2; 12 August, 2; 16 August, 2; 18 August, 2; 31 August, 1, 2; 23 September, 1; 6 October, 2; 21 October, 2; 27 October, 1; 30 October, 1.
53. *Herald*, 8 August 1837, 2. For the Jamaica correspondent, see 31 May 1837, 2; 2 August 1837, 2. For London and Liverpool, 1 December 1837, 1.
54. *Herald*, 27 October 1837, 1; 13 December 1837, 2. There was some inconsistency in Bennett's announcements, however. A list of correspondents published earlier in December gave only Jamaica (permanent) and London (occasional) as foreign ones; 8 December 1837, 2.

the Niagara River on the American-Canadian border, it remained a newsworthy story in the United States. It was also close to New York City, which meant that the *Herald* (which had covered the 1836 fighting in Texas by quoting other newspapers) could dispatch its own correspondents to file timely stories.

The *Herald*'s initial reports were drawn solely from newspapers in upstate New York, Vermont and Montreal, but by 8 December, Bennett was promising readers "a regular and connected series of letters, from the seat of war, whither we have sent a special correspondent to watch the progress of events."[55] A few days into January, the *Herald* announced that it had "special correspondents at Buffalo, Rochester, Albany – throughout the whole line to Navy Island" and that private expresses had been set up between the scenes of action and the nearest post offices.[56] Soon, a *Herald* correspondent was within view of Navy Island itself and, finally, in the insurgents' camp.[57] The rebels dispersed in late January, and the correspondences ceased soon afterwards, although continuing unrest in the Canadas and tensions along the border with the United States kept the *Herald*'s interest in Canada alive throughout 1838.[58]

The Canadian Rebellion was an extraordinary event, however, and the *Herald* correspondents writing about it disappeared from the paper's columns once it was over. When it came to more permanent contributors, the *Herald* began its fourth year with reports from London, Liverpool and Le Havre appearing regularly and with occasional reports from other parts of the world increasing in frequency.[59] Of the *Herald* correspondents writing as travelers in 1838, the most noteworthy was the publisher himself. Starting in June, the *Herald* published some forty letters and ten journal installments by Bennett from Britain and France. They combined the two strains of correspondence discussed above, mixing general traveler's impressions with political and economic news. The latter was natural, since Bennett repeatedly had stated that he was in Europe as an emissary of American commerce.[60] As to his promise to organize a permanent network of correspondents during his trip, the result most visible in the *Herald*'s columns was more regular contributions from London, and, starting in September, Paris; as before, economic material accounted for a large share, at least in the reports from Britain.[61]

In Bennett's absence, the *Herald* staff had promised correspondence not only from London and Paris but from "all important ports of Europe, Asia and

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55. *Herald*, 8 December 1837, 1, 2.
56. *Herald*, 5 January 1838, 1, 2.
57. *Herald*, 16 January 1838, 1; 19 January, 1.
58. *Herald*, 16 January 1838, 1; 19 January, 1.
59. *Herald*, 27 February 1838, 2; 8 March, 2; 10 March, 2; 12 March; 3 March, 4; 15 April, 4. The significance of the *Herald*'s coverage of the Canadian rebellions is discussed in detail in Ulf Jonas Bjork, "Early War Correspondents in the New York Herald, 1837-38," *Journalism Quarterly* (forthcoming).
60. *Herald*, 16 July 1838, 2; Bennett's letters began running in June and coninued until the publisher's return in October; *Herald*, 18-19, 21, 23 and 28 June; 14, 16-18, 20, 25-27 July; 4-5, 7-10, 14-15 and 31 August; 18-21, 26, 28-29 September; 3-5 October.
61. *Herald* 1838, 8 June, 2; 3 July, 1; 9 July, 4; 3 September, 4; 6 September, 2; 13 September, 2; 15 September, 2; 19 September, 2; 22 September, 2; 24 September, 2; 27 September, 2; 1 October, 2; 11 October, 2. In January 1839, correspondences from London, Liverpool, Paris, or Le Havre were published in the issues of 3 January, 2; 4 January, 2; 7 January, 2; 8 January, 2; 9 January, 2.

Africa."[62] The custom of the time to delete the correspondents' names – in two cases, on the expressed request of the writers themselves – makes it difficult to say with certainty what kind of people the *Herald*'s correspondents were. Bennett made a great show of some of them being volunteers who, like a correspondent in Cuba, offered to relate "the local news, such as clearances, and arrivals – disasters, price current and review of the market – the slave trade and any other valuable information; now and then touching on our manners, laws and customs – the fair sex of this fair clime," in exchange only for a daily copy of the *Herald*.[63] That they offered, unsolicited, to act as *Herald* correspondents was testimony to the paper's popularity abroad, according to Bennett. This category of contributors consisted not only of foreign nationals but also of American travelers who offered to write while going abroad.[64]

The background of the more regular contributors varied. The correspondent in Jamaica was a journalist who wanted to exchange papers with the *Herald*.[65] As noted above, the early correspondences from Liverpool and Le Havre were from brokerage firms, and the continuing stress on commercial matters in reports from there makes it plausible that the subsequent writers came from that background. References in letters from the *Herald*'s London man make it clear that part of his duties was to collect British newspapers and send them along with his own pieces, and private letters to Hudson and Bennett from a decade later show that by then this was part of the correspondents' duties elsewhere as well, as was acting as a subscription agent.[66] It is hard to surmise much else about the *Herald*'s early correspondents. Although some of them clearly had journalistic experience, Bennett biographer Oliver Carlson's claim that they were "Europe's ablest newspapermen" seems based solely on one of Bennett's boastful announcements.[67] The day when the name of the foreign correspondent was an important part of his dispatches had yet to dawn.[68]

In January 1839, four months after Bennett's return from Europe, the *Herald* announced, not surprisingly, that its new "arrangements for information on every leading topic from Europe" had once again "far outstripped every Wall street paper in foreign news."[69] Ending the discussion of the *Herald*'s view of foreign news the way it began, with an editorial boast, it is appropriate to suggest how Bennett's treatment of news and correspondence from abroad fits should revise the view of his contributions to international news gathering.

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62. *Herald*, 8 August 1838, 2.
63. *Herald*, 27 February 1838, 2.
64. *Herald*, 8 March 1838, 2; 8 August 1837, 2; 10 August 1837, 2; 30 August 1837, 1; 24 January 1838, 2; 3 October 1838, 4.
65. *Herald*, 2 August 1837, 2; 31 May 1837, 2.
66. *Herald*, 7 August 1837, 2; 1 December 1837, 1; Benjamin Foster to Bennett, 26 and 31 January 1850; B.H. Revdil to Frederic Hudson, 1 August, n.y.; Bennett papers, New York Public Library. The Bennett papers do not contain material from the years discussed here and thus were not used extensively.
67. Carlson, *The Man Who Made News*, 202.
68. Although the *Herald* did not seem to favor pseudonyms for its foreign correspondents, other papers were using them; thus, "XYZ" wrote letters from Paris and London for the *Courier and Enquirer* in 1836, and correspondence from Britain was published in the *Journal of Commerce* from "NAUTILUS" in 1837 and "RASSELAS" and "EQUATOR" in 1839.
69. *Herald*, 8 January 1839, 2.

Both Bennett's boasts and the actual foreign-news content of the *Herald* suggest that the conventional view that the penny press of the 1830s abandoned foreign news in its quest for local fare is incorrect. News from abroad was published in the *Herald* as well as the *Sun*, and at least the former put itself in direct competition with the established commercial press in this area.

That competition needs to be taken into account when discussing Bennett's role in the development of foreign news coverage in the American press. Historical accounts making the *Herald* an outstanding innovator in foreign news gathering, inventing it in its modern form, do not sufficiently consider the environment in which the *Herald* publisher was working. Bennett may have claimed that his system for ensuring foreign news for the *Herald* was unique, but it is clear that he drew on the experiences of others. To begin with, English papers had regular correspondents in place well before he boarded the *Sirius* for Europe, and the system had been used earlier in America by Samuel Topliff, although not by a newspaper organization.[70]

In the *Herald*'s own time, its New York commercial press rivals were developing a system of regular correspondence if not ahead of Bennett's paper then certainly alongside it. Some histories see the *Sun* and its establishment of a London correspondent in 1843 as the first challenge to the foreign correspondence of the *Herald*, but that is to ignore the contributions of the older mercantile newspapers altogether. While the *Herald* was beginning to publish occasional European correspondence in 1836, the *Courier and Enquirer* was running regular dispatches by "XYZ" from London and Paris, and a year later, when Bennett's network of correspondents was beginning to take shape, the *Journal of Commerce* was relying on regular contributions from writers in London, Liverpool, Havre and Turkey.[71] In 1839, that paper had a network that rivaled that of the *Herald*, with correspondents not only in London, Liverpool and Havre but also Havana, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Marseilles, Valparaiso, Bermuda, Manchester, and Mazatlan.[72]

John Nerone's advice to journalism historians to see the penny press as less revolutionary seems appropriate in the case of foreign news, then, where Bennett's network of correspondents was not the sudden beginning of today's system of gathering news abroad but took shape in the context of his battle with commercial papers employing similar methods.[73] Viewing Bennett and his

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70. Hohenberg, *Foreign Correspondents*, 24; Emery and Emery, *Press and America*, 110. Using correspondents to provide foreign intelligence for merchants has, of course, a long history, starting with the Fuggers in the Middle Ages; see Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News: From the Drum to the Satellite* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 75-76.

71. *Journal of Commerce* 1837, 10 July, 2; 24 July, 2; 25 July, 2; 31 July, 4; 2 August, 2; 10 August, 4; 11 August, 4; 16 August, 2, 4; 28 August, 4; 30 August, 4; *Courier and Enquirer* 1836, 29 February, 2; 22 March, 2; 9 April, 2; 27 April, 2; 28 April, 2; 3 May, 2; 20 May, 2; 25 May, 2; 25 July, 2; 4 August, 2; 6 August, 2; 8 August, 2; 24 August, 2; 5 September, 2.

72. *Journal of Commerce*, 1 July - 24 September 1839.

73. John C. Nerone, "The Mythology of the Penny Press," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 402. It is worth remembering that Bennett's first experience in New York journalism was on the staff of the *Courier and Enquirer*; see Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque: William C. Brown Co., 1969), 167, 231.

paper in that context is not necessarily to diminish the *Herald* publisher's reputation as an innovator. In his rivalry with the sixpennies he may frequently have been the leader who forced his competitors to innovate, too, as is suggested by the change from a few foreign correspondents attached to the *Journal of Commerce* in 1837 to the multitude appearing in its columns in 1839. Nor does the acknowledgment of Bennett's connection to the commercial press turn him into nothing more than another another Wall Street publisher. There were indisputable differences, such as his obsession with what he called "early and authentic" news. In neither the *Journal of Commerce* nor the *Courier and Enquirer* is there anything equivalent to Bennett's frequent accounts of how he spared no expense to gather news more effectively and his implication that news-gathering enterprise determined the quality of a newspaper.

What paying greater attention to Bennett's connection to the commercial press does mean is loosening the boundaries between definitions of penny and six-penny papers. Histories of the *Herald* often appear to take at face value Bennett's frequent announcements that his paper was unique and altogether different from the established commercial dailies. That acceptance is a little dangerous in the case of a publisher who delighted in criticizing other papers, rarely offered praise, and loved to boast about his own success. Simply checking Bennett's editorial boasts against the *Herald*'s own news columns and against the papers he criticized, as this article does in the case of foreign news, scales down some of his claims of uniqueness.

Even the claims themselves suggest a connection between the *Herald* and the commercial press. In his announcements concerning the superiority of the *Herald*'s foreign news coverage, Bennett appeared to court the readers of the Wall Street papers, offering specialized information for a limited audience. The overall readership of the *Herald* has been the subject of discussion and speculation, but in the case of foreign news, the publisher's target audience seems quite evident.[74] Although Bennett would claim that his paper was read by "all classes" it was the"commercial community," or, as he put it more bluntly, "the merchants – the brokers – the bankers," whom he wanted to serve with his ship news and foreign intelligence.[75] For that part of his paper, at least, he did not appear to seek a mass audience, suggesting that the readership of the *Herald* was more heterogeneous and in some ways more traditional than has often been assumed. The paper itself was, in turn, less a definite break with the past than an evolution of American journalism.

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74. James Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press, 1989), 159-61.
75. *Herald*, 22 July 1836; 16 September 1837, 1; 6 December 1837, 2; 13 December 1837, 2.

The Journalism of Josephine Herbst

by Robert L. Craig

For Josephine Herbst an unabashed advocacy followed uncompromising commitment to a leftist ideology. One result was powerfully written critiques of national and world events. Another was the sting of being blackballed during the Red scare of the period in which she worked.

Novelist-journalist Josephine Herbst spent the spring and summer of 1927 in Wiscasset, Maine, with her husband John Herrmann. They sailed for New York on a small ketch they had bought and repaired. They tried to cross Casco Bay to Portland on 22 August 1927 and nearly ship-wrecked several times before dense fog forced them ashore. Confronting her own mortality, Herbst was profoundly affected by parallel events that day—Sacco and Vanzetti had not made it; they were executed at midnight. In her memoirs, Herbst vividly recalled this night as a turning point in her life:

> The radio signaled midnight....Now the voices came on....The prison lights would have to go out to kill them. It went dark. The lights on again. Then dark again. The Italian had been standing still as a statue. Now he took off his apron and hung it on a peg. Rolled down his sleeves over strong thick-muscled hairy arms. He reached up to turn out a light, hesitated, his hand still on the switch, looking at us....Then he looked around in a swift running glance, as if he might be overheard, and softly as if he were on tiptoe, came to the counter and leaned heavily on it. His face was tense but calm; one of his eyebrows was nicked with a scar. He spoke in a quiet voice, confidentially, "Electricity. Is that what it's for? Is that the thing to do? Seven years they waited. Not bad men. No good men..."
>
> So far as I am concerned, what had been the twenties ended that night. We would try to penetrate the fogs that were to come, to listen to the buoys to read the charts. It would be

> three years before we took down a volume of *Kunstgeschichte* from our shelves to be replaced by a thin narrow book in red, entitled *What Is To Be Done?* by V. I. Lenin.[1]

It was several years before Herbst was fully politicized, but she was already searching for a philosophy to help her "penetrate the fog" surrounding worldly events. She found it in Marxist thought and politics, which became the framework for her journalistic writing. Herbst's journalism offers an opportunity to examine the investigative techniques and writing style of a leftist advocacy journalist. Discussions in her memoirs and lectures on writing show the development of her political ideology formed and the reasons she adopted an advocacy style of journalism, which she knew was quite different from mainstream journalism. From her magazine writing, we can see how her concept of advocacy journalism became a way of investigating, reporting and writing. Rather than presenting a balanced account of events as mainstream journalism purports to do, advocacy journalism promotes political alternatives. To do so, advocacy journalists critically examine and often undermine official accounts and interpretations of events. Secondly, they present alternative explanations, interpretations, and hypotheses that frame events differently. Thirdly, they try to convince the reader that their alternative views are superior to other accounts. Finally, they attempt to enlist readers in social change movements by encouraging their political participation.

Herbst used many of the techniques associated with the rhetoric of persuasion to accomplish these ends. These include immersing herself in her subject matter to gain an insider's understanding of events; using first-person narratives to give credibility to an account—that is, giving eyewitness, expert testimony about events; appropriating common sense by relying on common people whose everyday concerns are expressed in common language instead of big words or bureaucratic jargon; juxtaposing accounts of events to favor the author's interpretation; affecting the reader through contrast, contradiction, and irony; using accurate detailed reporting and historical background to create credibility; and calling upon the readers' sense of identity, moral outrage, and social responsibility to involve them and effect change.[2]

Herbst's advocacy style cannot be analyzed apart from her leftist political perspective. For instance, she didn't choose to interview common people because they would create a sense of credibility for her views. Rather, Herbst saw herself as a proponent of the rights of common people. From wherever she reported, her stories focused on how alliances between business, industry, government, and the military oppressed common people when they attempted to organize politically. This is evident in her reportage on U.S. farmers, German laborers, Cuban sugar plantation workers, home workers, and Spanish socialists. Her stories feel realistic, not just because of the stylistic devices she employs, but because her style derived from where she viewed the world: from the bottom of society, not the top. In retrospect, her journalism should have been historically insightful to society but it was usually

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1. Josephine Herbst, "A Year of Disgrace," *The Nobel Savage*, 3 (May 1961), 159.
2. This definition of literary journalism is found in Norman Sim's introductory essay in Norman Sims, ed., *The Literary Journalists* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1984), 3-21.

marginalized in small publications. To live, she had to rely on a series of editing, review writing, and public relations jobs. And despite the quality of her work—or maybe because of it—like the people she reported on, her voice was muted. Because biographers focused most of their attention on Herbst's literary work, a systematic evaluation of her journalistic writing is in order.

Herbst's journalism appeared in leading liberal and leftist magazines between 1929 and 1940.[3] She also published seven novels, a novella, and many short stories and poems. Her contemporaries considered her to be among the best of the 1930's "proletarian novelists." In 1936, she won a Guggenheim Award for her novels.

As a novelist-journalist, Herbst can be likened to Theodore Dreiser and friends John Dos Passos and Ernest Hemingway. She also emerges as part of a group of leftist Depression Era women writers such as Dorothy Day, Mary Heaton Vorse, Meridel Le Sueur, Fielding Burke, Genevieve Taggard, and Ella Winters, who used advocacy journalism as a means to remake a society torn by economic depression and war.[4] Herbst was a victim of the anti-Communist hysteria of the 1940s and 1950s. She was removed from her job writing anti-fascist radio broadcasts for the U.S. War Department during World War II. Afterward, she did no significant journalistic writing. As with many leftist and women writers of her day, Herbst slipped into obscurity as her reputation declined, except among a small cadre of writers and literary historians. However, she was rediscovered in the 1980s: Two biographies and her memoirs were published, and four of her novels were republished.[5] She lived until 28 January 1969.

Herbst wrote twenty major journalistic articles about important events such as the farm crisis of the Great Depression, the rise of Nazism, the International Brigade's fight against fascism in Spain, and labor unrest in Latin America, which are examined in this article. Further, as her literary biographers attest, and as will be seen from the excerpts used here, Herbst was a powerful writer, and she may well have written more journalism had she not been blackballed at the height of her career.

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3. For a list of magazine articles by Herbst, see Martha Pickering, *Check-List, Josephine Herbst* (M.A. and Thesis, University of Louisville, 1968).

4. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 135-6. Nancy Roberts, Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984) 92-3. Both authors discuss the problem of identifying women writers by their gender vs. politics (especially communists who believed questions of class and economic power over-determined those of gender and race). Also see: Charlotte Nekola and Paula Rabinowitz, eds., *Writing Red: An Anthology of American Women Writers, 1930-1940* (New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York, 1987), 1-16 and 189-98. Two pieces of Herbst's writing, one fiction and one journalism, are anthologized here.

5. The biographies are Elinor Langer, *Josephine Herbst* (Boston: Little Brown, 1984) and Winifred Farrant Bevilacqua, *Josephine Herbst*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985). Herbst's Memoirs are re-published as *The Starched Blue Sky of Spain and Other Memoirs* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

A Political Biography

Josephine Herbst was born 5 March 1897 in Sioux City, Iowa, where she attended Morningside College. She attended the universities of Iowa and Washington, and graduated from the University of California at Berkeley, where several of her poems were published in a campus literary magazine. At Berkeley, she joined the protest movement against World War I. After graduation Herbst got a job as a copy editor for H.L. Mencken's *Smart Set*. Then, in the writer-intellectual fervor of the 1920s, she moved to Europe. She lived in Germany from 1922 to 1923 and completed her first novel, which went unpublished. Living in tenements in Moabit and Wedding, she became comfortable with the working people and the poor—valuable lessons for any journalist but particularly for one interested in alternative journalism.

In 1924, Herbst was attracted to the expatriate writing scene in Paris, where she became friends with writers Hemingway, Nathan Asch, William Carlos Williams, and John Herrmann, whom she later married. She and Herrmann spent a year writing in the solitude of a New Preston, Connecticut, farmhouse. In September 1926, they came to New York City to work and find publishers for their novels. She later waxed romantically about art and life in New York but wrote seriously about writing and her early influences:

> [W]asn't it of engagements like this, long talks and walks, that you had dreamed in the Midwest town before the War...you had dreamed of it as surely as you had dreamed of love. A book told you it was so, long before you had a chance to prove it, and when some knowing librarian, seeing you flounder in the bookstacks, had put into your hand books beyond your years to prove to you wonderful, witty talk existed somewhere as surely as it did in the pages of *The Way of All Flesh, Sanine,* or *Madam Bovary.* More than the theater, or the bright thoroughfares of big towns, more than the chance to see "real" paintings in big galleries, was the hope to verify the book by human encounter.
>
> Perhaps it was in those early days in the little town, that "the word" had come to seem a holy thing. But "the word" can be used or misused by anyone. It can be flogged to death. Common denominator though it be, it may become the little stick of dynamite. It can drown the brook in a rumbling mountainside. We saw it happen. The Great War began in 1914 with no more than the incredulity of the elders—"Why they can't let it go on. It's barbarism"—but led right on through middled unwillingness, to sluggish hesitation, to jingoist cries, to rhetorical betrayals; until beneath the public harangues other voices spoke and you heard them: D. H. Lawrence, Barbusse, Romain, Rolland, Emma Goldman, John Reed—dissenters, dissenting among themselves, but reminding you that what you hoped to live for, lived. An underground aliveness burned and stirred, made signals in the dark.[6]

6. Herbst, "A Year of Disgrace," 138-9.

In the fall of 1928, *Nothing is Sacred* was published. The novel dealt with the life of a midwestern family and received favorable reviews. Herbst had just finished another novel, *Money for Love*, when Ernest Hemingway invited the couple to spend the winter in Key West, Florida.

> There was not much literary talk either that winter or at any other time, and not only with Hemingway but with other writers, like John Dos Passos. What we talked about was the kind of stuff you actually write about, people, what they did, how they acted and even what they ate or how they misbehaved. We skimped on general ideas and we didn't talk politics...It was not yet the time.[7]

Toward the end of their Florida stay, Herbst and Herrmann decided to travel to the Soviet Union to learn about the Russian Revolution. To help pay their expenses, Hemingway gave them manuscripts to sell in Europe and Dos Passos wrote his Soviet publishers requesting that they be given his royalties. They arrived in Kharkov in October 1929 for the Second World Plenum of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature. Later, comparing what she saw in the Soviet Union to the apolitical atmosphere she found in Paris, she wrote:

> We knew that our lives and our futures had been dyed by the Great War, the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary unfolding of the modern arts...We fancied we lived outside of our society, had spurned politics and now it was clear that no one lived outside their society... Regardless of what was happening in Russia or what was to be an enormous vitality had been unloosed....But the greatest surprise awaited us in Paris. It was unbearable. It seemed senseless to sit around in a cafe and to indulge in frivolous conversation....I wanted to go home. Home had become vastly interesting and landing in New York utterly different than getting off the *Rochambeau* years before.[8]

By 1933, twenty-five percent of the U.S. labor force was unemployed. People who ordinarily did not think about social problems or the organization of society were forced to become personally involved in the upheaval. Although fiction writing remained her primary work, Herbst—politically informed, committed, and engaged—began writing journalism. Between 1929 and 1940, she published in the *New Masses, Nation, New Republic, New York Post, Farmer's Holiday, Scribners Magazine, Woman's Day, American Mercury, Labour Monthly, Partisan Review and Anvil, Direction,* and *Friday.* Her major articles dealt with national farm events and international politics.

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7. Josephine Herbst, "Hour of Counterfeit Bliss," unpublished memoir, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 10.
8. Ibid., 22-3.

Herbst on Leftist Journalism

Herbst wrote from a leftist political perspective. Her concern for human rights, her view of society and her concept of the historical change informed her journalism. To a large extent these concerns explain how, as one writer put it, "She had the knack of being in the significant place at the crucial moment, and of being on a footing of comradely equality with many of the most important figures of the day."[9]

Like many leftists of the period, she was associated with the U.S. Communist Party – CPUSA. Herbst's husband was a member of the CPUSA, and her memoirs make it clear that she studied Marxism-Leninism and anarchism. In 1932, she cast a ballot for a "straight Communist ticket,"and she wrote a story on the Scottsboro boys for *The Masses*, the CPUSA literary magazine.[10] She also participated in the 1935 American Writers' Congress, sponsored by the CPUSA.[11] Although, Herbst quickly became disillusioned with Stalin's totalitarian communism and she reviled the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939, she wrote stories about issues and events from a leftist perspective. Herbst's practical journalism probably forced her beyond narrow sectarian rhetoric. Her political language leaves no doubt that she understood subtle differences among leftist ideologies, but her lack of sectarianism led her to scenes of human hardship and political action. Her own words clarify her perspective:

> I am a writer and in the same class as all those writers who were obliged to flee Germany when Hitler came to power. The writers in France, who were put into concentration camps when the Nazis took over, were shot, were exiled, are my kind, too. Put us all together in one vast room and we would have disagreed on many matters that might seem essential. But deep down, we belong to the same stream of life, we all have the same preoccupation with the rights of man and the same view as to the dignity of the human spirit on earth.[12]

In other words, Herbst was a leftist because she believed that treating the ills of the 1930s called for the kind of social solutions that the left prescribed, such as the nationalization of industry and the redistribution of wealth. Labels such as "humanistic Marxist," "democratic socialist" or perhaps "feminist socialist" may best describe her perspective. For Herbst, observing society's treatment of people was central to journalism, and advancing human rights was synonymous with implementing socialism. She reported specific problems people faced in their daily lives; she described these problems as fundamental to the capitalist system; she prescribed the socialist redistribution of wealth as the solution to these problems.

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9. Harvey Swados, *The American Writer and the Great Depression* (New York: Bobbs Merrill Company, 1966), 103.
10. Josephine Herbst, "What is Americanism?" *Partisan Review and Anvil* 3 (April 1936), 6-7.
11. Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s*, 131-133.
12. Josephine Herbst, "Josephine Herbst Tells Why She Was Fired from the COI," *PM*, 17 June 1942.

She wrote to spark readers' indignation toward economic inequalities, which she saw as a violation of fundamental human rights. Like other journalists of the Great Depression, she named causes and prescribed solutions to activate public awareness to the plight of the poor. To stimulate such awareness, Herbst believed that journalists needed to write stories in which "ironic implication or juxtaposition of materials should hint at the larger issues."[13] Journalism was not to be filled with preaching social and political theory, but with the unadorned facts gathered from common reporting through "on-the-spot" documentary work. She discussed the merits of learning about farm problems on the picket line:

> I have to know things through my own skin....How fully one may learn is something I do not know but I am on my way. I know that as one world turns black another turns green and the entire future seems so bound up with the future of the worker and the farmer that I cannot even seem to live anymore without not only closer touch but closer participation.[14]

A key component of Herbst's leftism was her historical perspective. She believed a grand, understandable, predictable, and progressive historical movement toward socialism was underway. In her journalism, she placed events in this wider political-historical context, while maintaining a populist approach that might awaken the public and move it to political action. In an article written for a *Partisan Review and Anvil* series by American writers on the topic, "What is Americanism? A Symposium on Marxism and the American Tradition," she exhibited this progressivism: "I cannot see the future of America if it continues to retain hope as divorced from Marxism.... America to me is a country that has never fulfilled itself; it will only do so through the process of revolution. I am no prophet. I do not know how or when. I do know why."[15]

For Herbst the "why" was human rights: "Farmers holding Sears-Roebuck sales today to outwit mortgage foreclosures are subversive red to the New York Insurance Company owners, but to fellow farmers they are sober men standing up for their *natural born rights.*"[16]

Her view of the "inevitable march of history" and her assumptions about how modern science could be used to create a better society are found throughout her writing. She believed that "[t]he whole struggle of mankind is to throw off the parasite of science, to kill the germ and let the vital organism live. The Morgans of the world played a part in a development which laid waste as much as it built; now they are gumming up the machinery."[17] Like Marx she believed that wealthy industrialists had played a positive role in history (by overthrowing repressive aristocratic and religious rule), but now, to protect their wealth and privileged status, they blocked rational solutions to great social problems. For humanity to continue to develop, the wealthy—"the insurance

13. Josephine Herbst, "Little People," *New Masses*, 21 September 24-5.
14. Josephine Herbst, "Josephine Herbst," *Contemporary American Authors*, ed. Fred B. Millet (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1940), 85.
15. Herbst, "What is Americanism?" 6-7.
16. Ibid., 5.
17. Ibid., 6.

company owners" and the "Morgans of the world"—had to be overthrown and economic relations reorganized according to socialist and scientific principles. Such a revolution, she believed, was inevitable because it was *progressive*, both in a scientific and moral sense.

Leveling national and cultural variables, she argued for peoples' common interests: "They want to live, to educate their children, to have dignity of human life."[18] For her, the writer's challenge was to show people the potential for a socialist democracy in which these goals could be achieved. She saw the interpretation of current events as confusing and difficult, but believed that "the reflection of these complicated forces, with an understanding of *their direction* should be the business of revolutionary literature."[19]

The belief that leftist political philosophy explained the laws of historical development, offered Herbst a consistent framework for interpreting events, and most importantly, it was a source of optimism. It was science, inevitable truth. It became a moral imperative: democracy, defined as justice and equality, could be achieved through a combination of commitment, reason, persuasion, and practical political work. Working towards these ends was one's obligation and responsibility in the modern world. This ideology became the fountainhead of Herbst's journalistic style, lending her writing a profound sense of meaning and purpose, a sense of participating in, even helping to guide history's movement.

Herbst's Journalistic Style

Herbst's leftist political framework greatly affected her reporting and writing style; that is, it affected the investigation, construction, and expression of her stories. Her writing can be included in the genre of political documentary that William Stott described in *Documentary Expression and Thirties America.*[20] Thirties' documentary and leftist journalism converged at two points: both reported events from a working-class point of view and both sought political and social changes favorable to this class.

In the thirties, the worker and the farmer had little security and a declining standard of living. In Herbst's words, it was a period in which life's maxim was "to him who hath will be given."[21] Leftists, however, believed that society could be reorganized to better serve the needs of the many rather than the profit of a few. It made no sense to them that a farmer produced tons of cotton for the market but could not clothe his own children. A review of one of her novels explained Herbst's America:

> Miss Herbst's America has not Whitmanesque grandeur, nor is it soured by neurotics who translated their personal inadequacy into social philosophy. It is hunger and shame that fill her book, the pleasure of worry and fear, the clouding of the best marriage by poverty, and the steady drip of anxiety nudging the

18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. William Stott, *Documentary Expression in Thirties Ameica* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).
21. Josephine Herbst, "The Farmer Looks Ahead," *American Mercury* 34 (February 1935), 216.

> heart. Somewhere her people know they have been trapped; and they sit on the empty plain on porch steps, in beer parlors, asking where they made their mistake, retracing the cycle of a man's defeat.[22]

Herbst did not acquiesce in humanity's defeat. Through her journalism she tried to show that the underlying economic causes of social and political problems were systemic and social, not individual.

She did this by indicting the wealthy for sustaining the economic causes of human misery. She identified public figures with the upper class and interpreted their actions as extensions of propertied class-interest. She wrote of human potential, especially that of workers, and she argued that their potential was denied artificially, by repression. She reported the actions of change that were favorable to workers, and she tried to point out opportunities for favorable political change when she felt they existed. She often traced economic history, weaving it together with general social and political history, in order to demonstrate their reciprocal influences.

In her investigations, she gathered information from common people as well as from traditional sources, such as public documents, statements, and officials. She was extremely observant, exhibiting great sensitivity to minor, but often telling, details of events and things around her. She relied on sight, touch, taste, smell, feeling, and intuition to inform herself, and she used these senses rhetorically. By relating where and how she got information in her stories, she positioned herself in the midst of events for the reader. This technique is a persuasive rhetorical device that creates credibility and involves readers; it persuades readers of the soundness of her story and interpretations. Her powerful descriptive language recounts detail and casts an aura of credibility. She tried to touch readers' emotions by recording the feelings of people in real life situations. She wanted readers to participate in situations she felt were wrong and could be changed.

Specific techniques that Stott found in documentary reportage are present in Herbst's writing. She used ironic exposé quotations, that is, quoting a public figure, an industrialist or an upper class person and juxtaposing the quote in an ironic context. She presented case histories of actual people. She sought out common people for information rather than public officials. She dignified the usual and leveled the extraordinary. She used first-person narratives to demonstrate the first-hand authenticity of her story. She displayed her emotional and intellectual reactions in order to affect the reader.

Through a combination of a politicized intellect that directed her to significant historical events, reporting methods that led her to seek non-traditional sources of information in unusual places, and complementary skills of writing and keen observation, she wrote vividly about some of the most profound events of the 1930s and the 1940s. The following excerpts from her writing demonstrate her employment of these stylistic devices and recall the events she covered.

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22. Alfred Kazin, "Flies in the Mid-West Kitchen," *New York Herald Tribune Books*, 5 March 1939, 7.

Herbst's first magazine article appeared in *New Masses* in July 1931. "Lynching in the Quiet Manner" is a report about eight black youths sentenced to hang in Scottsboro, Alabama, for raping a white woman. A new trial had been denied. She outlined the contradictions in trial testimony, but spent most of the article discussing racism, class, and the reifying aspects of law in a capitalist society. This analytical framework, based on Marxist political economy, was central to all of Herbst's journalism:

> The whole race problem in the South is first of all economic. It is his position as a laborer that forces[the African-American] back into the legal status of a slave. The ignorance and poverty which *The Nation* so deplores is an economic problem. It isn't a mystical one. The Negro worker is ignorant and poor because it has seemed to be an economic advantage to keep him that way....The law is not abstract, impartially arbitrating between conflicting social classes; it is a tool in the hands of those who govern.[23]

Her analysis of the economics of class and suffering led her to report facts that created empathy with the working mother of one of the accused: "Mrs. Wright, the mother of two of the boys, may be poor, and she may be ignorant but character and fortitude she certainly has. Her husband has been dead for seven years. She leaves the house at quarter past five and gets home at half past seven. For this she gets $6 a week."[24]

Herbst wrote with understanding about the family farm crisis in the Great Depression. The political economy was central to her story. The Midwest was familiar territory for Herbst: She had grown up in Iowa, the daughter of a farm implement dealer. The thirties were bad years for farmers—low prices, drought, and hordes of grasshoppers plagued them. The farm economy parodied the Depression: the cost of planting and growing crops was greater than their market value at harvest time. Farmers sank into debt until they could not meet their mortgage payments. They hoped for one good year, but it never came. One account reports that on a single day in April 1932 an area one-fourth the size of Mississippi fell under the foreclosing hammer of auctioneers.[25]

Herbst reported from Iowa where farmers united to fight against foreclosures. In Storm Lake, rope-toting farmers nearly hanged a lawyer conducting a foreclosure. Farmers blocked the shipment of food to Sioux City markets for thirty days. In LeMars, five hundred farmers mauled the sheriff and a mortgage agent. To some it looked like the end of capitalism, especially when the law began siding with farmers. The governors of Idaho, Minnesota, and North Dakota—Ben Ross, Floyd Olson, and William Langer—halted all foreclosures in their states. Sympathetic sheriffs conducted mortgage foreclosure

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23. Josephine Herbst, "Lynching in the Quiet Manner," *New Masses*, July 1931, 11.
24. Ibid.
25. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and The New Deal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 23.

sales, allowing large groups of small farmers to purchase farms for several dollars and give them back to their original owners. Herbst wrote:

> In the early '30s, who did not believe that the capitalist system was doomed? Even those who might only do so with fear and trembling. In 1933, some of the rich began to cater to their poorer radical relatives in the hopes of protection 'when the revolution came'....Everybody was reading (John) Strachey (*The Coming Struggle for Power*) and my own copy was stolen. The structure of capitalism, wrote Strachey, was adapted to an age of individualism and 'freedom' alone, and this age was almost over.[26]

Herbst's reports on agricultural problems consistently returned to four themes. She described the hardships of farm families. She illustrated the economic roots of the hardship. She reported rising class consciousness and militancy among farmers. She preached solidarity and argued that conflicts between town people and country folk were illusory; she thought that if each carefully analyzed their predicament, they would find more common ground than difference. One event she reported was the thirty-day blockade of Sioux City by one thousand farmers. Activists felt these kinds of mass actions were a prelude to the demise of capitalism and the rise of socialism. Herbst used the metaphor of "patent medicine" to describe capitalism's remedies to farm problems: "The farmer has listened to a good many quack cures for his ills. News that he is at last treating himself only becomes real on the Denison Highway when we pull up beside a red lantern, a red flag, and a sign, STOP—FARMERS' HOLIDAY."[27]

The farmers were forced to political action. Because the economic system was rife with contradiction, hard work was not enough to survive. Herbst reported:

> Everybody is worried about foreclosures. Not a fellow there isn't tied down with a mortgage or feed and seed loans. The government has them hand and foot. It compels them to pay off the loans in full before they can dispose of any of the crop. They need cash for taxes and where is it coming from? They need cash for interest to the banks.[28]

Herbst used the local language to create a sense of authenticity, as in this conversation between blockading farmers and a truck driver who wanted permission to cross the picket line:

> "What he's doing boys, is bootlegging milk from LeMars."
> The old man comes up. "What do you do that for? All of us have milk we can't sell. Why don't you buy from us. Why don't you deal with the men who signed the agreement?"

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26. Josephine Herbst, "Moralists Progress," *Kenyon Review* 27 (August 1965), 773.
27. Josephine Herbst, "Feet in the Grass Roots," *Scribners Magazine* 92 (January 1933), 46.
28. Ibid., 48.

> "Now boys, I've got all my milk bottled right here. I wanted to deal with a square shooter; but you take those fellows, they will hook you for every hook in the road. They'll knock you off.."
> "What about us," says the challenger. "We're knocked off. Why don't you stick with us boys so we can hold our prices and sell?"[29]

She wanted to tell about the problems farmers had when selling their products *and* gain the reader's understanding, so she moved between fact and persuasion. Fact: farmers could not profit from the low prices they received, and they were striking to gain control of them. Persuasion: the farmers were not hardened revolutionaries, but regular people whose suffering made them sympathetic to the trucker, who was not a culprit but a simple delivery man. The farmers were thus painted as reasonable, thoughtful, and seeking common sense solutions: They let the trucker pass. Herbst showed the contradictions and continued to build the reader's sympathy:

> Just a milk deliverer, crushed between two stones. The boys are now showing signs of relenting....They bunch together now to argue it out and you can see their kindness—the civilized ability to put themselves in another man's place....Against this is the tough quality of the upstanding old man, who is sure nothing can come of benefit to any one without some hurt to some one.[30]

She reported the strike's effect on the townspeople as well. Here she offered a leftist critique of the dependent relationship between town and country that showed city businesses profiting at the farmer's expense. She supported farmers because she felt they could beat the corruption of the urban business controlled system: "The business barometer has gone down all over the country, but the local men prefer to think that if picketing ended things would take a sharp upward turn....We would rather visit the picket lines than see the inner workings of town life with its stale, corrupt hints."[31]

When Herbst reported on farm problems again two years later, she offered more data, increasing the credibility and persuasiveness of her stories. For instance, she presented a case study to which everyone with a home or farm mortgage could relate: A farmer, who bought his place in 1903 with a $2,000 mortgage, had paid $3,000 in interest and in 1933 still owed $1,800. He hadn't had a crop for two years. The Roosevelt Administration passed a farm relief bill to help farmers with heavily mortgaged property receive human, feed or seed relief. But to get it, farmers had to reduce their livestock to ten units (a cow is a unit, a horse a unit, two sheep a unit), and if they accepted human relief, they could not receive a loan for feed. To receive a feed loan, they had to be mortgaged to the last dime.[32] Herbst explained this by identifying a cozy relationship

29. Ibid., 47.
30. Ibid., 47-8.
31. Ibid., 49.
32. Herbst, "The Farmer Looks Ahead," 212-17.

among government, the banks and the big (business) farmer: "They can get no help unless their property is in reality no longer theirs, but the bankers'. Their answer is that it is the banker whom the government wants to save, it is the big competent farmer who has stock and reserves who must be kept in the picture if commercial farming is to continue."[33]

Herbst also decried solutions proposed by big business that pitted farmers against workers, rather than farmers and workers against big business. She juxtaposed these two conflicting macro-economic perspectives so the commonsense farmer had the last word: "Bankers try to tell you that the whole trouble is the high wages being paid industrial workers. The high wages make the things farmers must buy too dear for the farmers' purse. Bring down the city worker, says the banker, but the farmer answers, what good will that do? We haven't enough of a market now; if the city worker gets less money he will be able to buy less."[34]

Once she had explained a farm problem in political, social, and economic terms, the ground was prepared for her to offer an alternative: a planned socialist economy organized to fulfill the needs of the whole population not just those of the big businessmen: "The little fellow may not have reserves but he knows people need food and he wants to provide it. The only planned economy that will ever look like anything to the farmer is one that will take basic needs of an entire population into consideration."[35]

Nazi Germany

When Herbst reported on Germany in 1935 for *The Nation* and the *New York Post*, she sensed the horror and the war that were to come. She reported the decline in human rights under Nazi rule and told of underground movements she hoped would overthrow it. While the Nazis tried to pass off National Socialism as socialism, Herbst reported deals between the Nazis and German industry, and implicated German industrialists in the solidification of Nazis power. She argued that Nazism was, in fact, the most reactionary form of capitalism—an alliance among military, industrial, and financial interests.[36]

Her articles used many elements of leftist and documentary writing. Her object was to go beyond the official Nazi line to get the workers' point of view, so she went underground to report how terror, death sentences and prison terms were being used to destroy Germany's political left, trade unions, and anti-fascist religious movements. Herbst informed her readers of the difficulty of stopping Hitler because of the Nazis' repressive measures. Writing in the first person, she described daily German life in rich language, naming the many violations of civil rights she saw and recreating the sensation of extreme paranoia she felt:

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33. Ibid., 217.
34. Ibid., 218.
35. Ibid., 219.
36. An editor's note preceded every newspaper article: "She is probably the only American newspaper woman who not only has won the confidence of the underground opposition in Germany but who also interviewed the Nazi leaders in Berlin." Josephine Herbst,"Hitler Using Death Sentences and Prison Terms in Vain Attempt to Curb Unending Strikes," *New York Post*, 28 October 1935.

> The newspaper, the radio and the newsreel repeat that all is quiet in Germany, everything is in order. To the eye, streets are clean, window boxes are choked with flowers, children hike to the country in droves, singing songs. The slogans of the opposition groups have been white-washed from the walls. Only by word of mouth, in whispers, the real news circulates stealthily through the German world. From hand to hand tiny leaflets inform the uninformed. A worker tells me about the Bismarck strike in the secrecy of his home. It is an apartment house where the doors are plastered with the different stickers of Nazi activities to show that the occupants have made their contributions. Within, we speak in lowered voices. The radio is turned on loudly and we sit near it with our heads close together. The walls have ears.[37]

She described the economics of Hitler's Germany and named those who benefited by his policies, then provided the historical background that precipitated the rise of Nazism:

> In 1922 and 1923 prices were also terrible. It was the period in inflation. The frightfulness of prices, the daily battle for one egg, a little meat, drove the German people into the arms of Hitler. Hitler's arms were strengthened by the enormous resources of the Krupps, the Thyssens, and other industrialists, who in this last year have been able to declare bigger dividends than before. The Socialists, Communists, and trade unionists had no such backing.[38]

In other parts of the article she noted that "this last year was marked by the further concentration of wealth in the hands of the big industrialists."[39]

She piled up one observation after another to present a sense that Germany was desperate and disaster was close at hand. She discussed public expenditures: taxes were exorbitant to support the military build-up and a national sports program. Farmers were already hoarding food; given massive inflation rates, food in-hand was better than money in the bank. She reported several dozen human rights violations, including murders, beatings, closing of newspapers, loss of employment for political reasons, political favoritism, seizure of property, and racism.

Overall, Herbst noted, "This country is getting the hunger and food shortage that breeds certain war."[40] She interviewed Jewish women who were convinced that Hitler was planning for war. This was during the same period that *Time* was reporting Hitler's offer to end age-old hostilities between France and Germany and naming him *Man of the Year*. Herbst was not fooled by Hitler's pacifist talk. Her observations were a stark prediction of Hitler's intentions:

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37. Ibid.
38. Josephine Herbst, "Anti-Nazi Feeling Rises," *The Nation*, 8 January 1936, 41.
39. Ibid., 42.
40. Herbst, "Hitler Using Death Sentences and Prison Terms in Vain Attempts to Curb Unending Strikes."

"War talk is in the air. Empty stores are used for propaganda displays. Twenty-eight countries against us during the World War' runs the slogan. World maps show the presence of Germans in strategic spots over the earth's surface."[41]

Again writing in the first person, Herbst discussed changes in Germany since her stay twelve years earlier. For instance, the German people no longer congregated in public. The ability to make such comparisons framed her as an expert, making her story more believable. She seemed to be trying to undermine German-American solidarity by creating an image of Nazi Germany that might estrange the German immigrant community in the United States:

> A people is made up of individuals and in all Germany few persons appear happy, few talk freely, there is little play. Only once in several months did I see people having what appeared to be a good time. It was in a Nazi neighborhood of little clerks and petty officials. A corner cafe was brightly lighted, and through the partly open door voices singing old German songs came out....It was the only time I saw this happen—a common event in the old days when people often sang in beer halls.[42]

A case history based on a letter from the wife of a teacher whom she visited in Germany addressed the same concern about what the German immigrant community in the United States was hearing from Germany. The letter showed the willingness of some Germans to cooperate with the Nazis, and Herbst believed that the letter and "many others like hers are flooding the mails at the instigation of Herr Goebbels."[43] Herbst wrote:

> I am to remember that people outside Germany are fed on lies and on stories started by petty faultfinders. In the main things are simply splendid. Der Fuhrer has chosen the best and only way. People do not understand the importance of the Jewish question, that it means everything to Germany. The Jews began their treacherous work during the war, when most of them stayed at home piling up wealth. Only the Fuhrer saved the Fatherland from these people, and his warning took years to be heard. A few not so clever people have bungled in handling the Jewish problem, but one should look at history, Where will one find such a bloodless revolution? The victorious usually put their enemies to death, but in Germany they have merely taken them into "protective custody."[44]

She reported that small battles were being won. Stories about religious persecution put morality on the political left: "A priest about to be arrested was warned by the underground route; his house was surrounded by workers and

41. Josephine Herbst, "Germany Continues to Patronize Jewish Shops Despite Drive to Boycott Them," *New York Post*, 1 November 1935.
42. Herbst, "Anti-Nazi Feeling Rises," 42.
43. Ibid., 41.
44. Ibid.

peasants from the neighborhood, few of whom were Catholic, and the troopers coming to arrest him turned back at the sight of the dense crowd."[45] She believed Hitler's enemies were growing in number: "The circle of enemies widens as the profits of the industrialists increase, as the living conditions of the workers go down with almost toboggan swiftness."[46]

To present a sense of hope and solidarity, she reported on the workers' resistance and talked of the persecution of sympathetic religious groups:

> It is hard for a strike to function in Germany. Only gigantic pressure from below can precipitate a strike in the face of terror. The strike is not only for wages and better living conditions. Nor is it only a protest against Hitler and the Third Reich. Many strikes consist of passive resistance, an hour's laying down of the tools... Beneath the surface,under the noise of the radio and the newsreel that shouts how quiet it is in Germany while in all other countries everything is in turmoil, the trade unions are gradually coming to life again. The drive against Catholics and Protestants coupled with the food shortage and the high prices have helped this movement.[47]

The Spanish Civil War

Herbst continued reporting on fascism a year later in Spain, trying to "find an antidote to the poison" in Germany. The Spanish left had formed a coalition and won electoral control of the government, but Franco's Hitler-backed forces fought that control. The left was represented in battle by Spaniards, Poles, Hungarians, Americans, Cubans, Russians, Frenchmen, Germans, a group of international brigades trying to stop Hitler by stopping Franco. The Soviet Union gave arms to the Loyalists but other governments sat back and watched.

Upon arriving, she found Dos Passos and Hemingway already on the scene. She reported from the Loyalist side of the battle lines for *The Nation* and *Woman's Day*. Her reporting was highly favorable to the International Brigade. The reporters tried not only to inform the public about the Spanish war, but to convince the U.S. and European governments to join the battle on the Loyalist side.[48] In this they failed, and the war ended with the fascists destroying the elected leftist government and its international allies.

Herbst juxtaposed historical accounts of how social classes had used the land around one Spanish village to reveal the relationship between the wealthy and the fascists and draw out the implications of a fascist takeover. First, she described how property was allotted and used before the People's Front (Loyalists) took power:

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45. Ibid., 42.
46. Ibid., 43.
47. Herbst, "Hitler Using Death Sentences and Prison Terms in Vain Attempts to Curb Unending Strikes."
48. Josephine Herbst, "Starched Blue Sky of Spain," *The Nobel Savage* 1 (1960), 79, 89.

> The state of the land in Spain reflects clearly the predicament that led to the present conflict. In some places the soil is hoarded to the last spoonful. In other sections great tracts have been allowed to lie idle at the disposal and whim of the great landowners. Seeds were made to grow, to bear, and to flourish in crypts in rocks; hundreds of thousands of people grubbed away at the soil in one part of Spain in order that elsewhere vast acres might remain as playgrounds for a few gentry who might take it into their heads to come once a year to hunt wild boar. [49]

Then, she reported how the People's Front had reformed land use, and finally she noted how the fascist Franco overturned land reforms when his troops gained control:

> In that part of Spain held by Franco the land reforms begun under the People's Front Government a year ago in February have been completely undone. Big estates, uncultivated for years, were divided among the peasants, only to be returned to the great landowners since the rebellion. At Torrejon el Rubio in Carceres, the Duke of Arion had a thousand hectors enclosed for wild game. Deer and boar often broke through to pillage the little plots of the neighboring villagers who, 3,000 of them, were permanently unemployed. When the Popular Front came to power it was considered proper to make use of this great preserve for the people. Many such hopeful enterprises had only begun when the rebels returned the property to the former owners. The workers in rebel territory have been thrown in prison. Their leaders have been shot or are awaiting execution.[50]

The fascists were ruthless. With vivid language Herbst described the methods they used to accomplish their ends and underscored what she saw as the historical regression of the system they sought to reinstate. She wrote in biblical metaphors that those who fought back would die at the hands of "the saviors" of the culture of Spain: "The great estates would be kept sacred by these 'saviors' and, like idols of old, be watered with human blood."[51]

In her memoirs, Herbst looked back on Spain with grief because she believed ultra-rightism could have been stopped there. She also reassessed her personal feelings about going to Spain. In two long quotes, one can see her distaste for political sectarianism and her belief in progressive history:

> In another sense, I was probably trying to find some answers to the confusions in my own mind. The Thirties had come in like a hurricane. An entire young generation had been swept up in a violent protest against the realities of events. But the

49. Josephine Herbst, "Spanish Village," *The Nation*, 14 August 1937, 169.
50. Ibid., 170.
51. Ibid.

answers were numbing. The slogans were pieces of twine throttling something that was struggling. Phrases like "the toiling masses" did not answer terrible questions. There were always people, real people, each an individual spirit with its own peculiar past. The Spanish War was doubtless the last in which individuals were to enter fully with their individual might. But what a welter of conflicting views this implies! The soldier is not only fighting against an enemy but also for some beyond. [52]

Individuals cannot fight as individuals and conflicting visions bring a conflict of will and design. Before I left Spain the disintegration had begun with a squalid internecine brawl in Barcelona. I have never had much heart for party polemics and it was not for factionalism that I had come to Spain. I did my best to find out "the Facts;" I even went to Barcelona in May where barricades were still in the streets....I can't say to this day what really happened in Barcelona, in all the diversity of conflicting causations, but I do know for certain that it was no anarchist plot, hatched up in conjunction with Franco. If the enemies of Franco had split into camps and were killing each other, it was not because each group was not equally determined to defeat the common enemy. Was the aim of the war a revolutionary one, which would strike at the terrible wrongs that had led to the uprising, or was it a war for democracy which, to the intransigents, implied no more than restoration of the status quo? By that time, the abstractions had taken over on the Loyalist side; on Franco's side the superiority of weapons was surely winning.[53]

Latin America

In "Good Neighbors—Whose Grab-Bag?" written for *Friday* in August 1940, Herbst started her article by tracing the historical origins of the state of military dictatorships in South America. In the nineteenth century, the European colonial powers were driven out and states were formed on the principles expressed in the American Bill of Rights and the French Revolution. But, as Herbst pointed out, "Only the common man found his lot little changed. Spain and Portugal might be out of the picture, but he still did the work of a burro and often with less reward. He had no land and his children had no schools."[54] The revolutions had come to South America, but what had actually happened? "The great land grants owned by the Spanish grandees swapped owners."[55] Now the descendants of rich South Americans inherited the property rights, and they too lived in Europe and sent their children to European schools. She then contrasted the lifestyles of the rich and the poor: "In Brazil a one-man estate may be as vast as England....There never was a frontier for the common man....On the big cattle

52. Herbst, "The Starched Blue Sky of Spain," 79-80.
53. Ibid., 80.
54. Josephine Herbst, "Good Neighbors – Whose Grab Bag?" *Friday*, also called *Dan Gillmor's Scoop* , 16 August 1940, 1.
55. Ibid.

ranches of the Argentine, the boys who kill the beef sip mate tea and eat the portions of beef condemned for shipping."[56]

She indicted large American corporations for their part in South American poverty. There was also apparent disdain for slogans such as Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy," which she said masked the colonial and imperialistic designs of American companies: "No Good Neighbor talk can completely hide the fact that in the big American-controlled companies 98 percent of the payroll goes to two per cent of the North American personnel."[57]

In the same article, Herbst worked the sympathies of the reader. For instance, workers and farmers had had ten difficult years in the United States, so when she wrote that South American men dug ore for less than a dollar a day and still could not buy enough food, to say nothing of furniture, dishes, clothes, pots, and pans, she was reminding U.S. readers of their own situation. To leftists, international fellowship was more important than nationalistic sentiments. The same technique was at work in her article "The Soviet in Cuba," published in *New Masses*, in March 1935. Words like hunger, starve, misery, and poverty described the plight of the Cuban workers, but also made their situation more relevant to their U.S. counterparts. By writing about Cuban labor, Herbst showed her American readers how business appropriated their labor value. Marx believed wage labor mystified businesses' appropriation of profits because wages hid the fact that the products workers produced were being taken from them. Herbst noted that for Cubans workers it was easier to see this appropriation because workers physically handed over their crops to foreign sugar companies when they were harvested, just has their families had handed them over to feudal lords for generations before.

Herbst assured readers that in Cuba she was seeking out the facts by talking with a cross-section of people, not just government officials. She wrote: "One must travel up and down this island talk to teachers, lawyers, workers in the cane fields, small farmers, clerks in stores, people sitting on park benches, to realize that no coalition, no political management or mismanagement will be of avail unless it brings freedom from military oppression and some better way of life to people so desperate to be free that bullets will not retard them."[58]

In the middle of the story, readers learned that Herbst had gone to extraordinary lengths to get the Cuban story. There were no roads to Realengo 18, the soviet in Cuba where strikes were being organized, so she rode on horseback five-days through the jungle to meet with the strike leader, Lion Alvarez. It was a late night meeting and Alvarez had "come over the trails to avoid soldiers who may be following in the darkness."[59] Who was Alvarez? No criminal, Herbst wrote, but a labor organizer whose arms had bullet wounds from the guns of the sugar companies. "He feels outraged to his bones for the humiliation of being right and being put in the wrong by the greed of companies who have nothing but bribery and tricks for this land that cost so much sweat."[60] The reader got a picture of Cuban poverty through leftist eyes—hungry

56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., 3.
58. Josephine Herbst, "The Soviet in Cuba," *New Masses*, 14 March 1935, 9.
59. Ibid., 10.
60. Ibid., 11.

workers squeezed by big business and government—without much political rhetoric.

The following month, Herbst did a followup when the Mendieta-Batista regime used "the strongest terrorist measures in the history of the island" to crush the strike.[61] Batista's assurances that his government would stop at nothing to end the strike were kept: freedom of the press, speech, movement, and rights of assembly were revoked, and hundreds killed. She attacked statements by sugar companies, businessmen and U.S. government representatives that the Cuban people were "childish people, politically irresponsible and bent on quarreling."[62] She decried such stereotypes as statements meant to rationalize and legitimize violating people's human rights.

Again, she told her readers where she got her story, but this time she indicted U.S. involvement: "In Havana the intense hatred of American penetration of this island is obscured if one sticks closely to the business interests and the wealthy section of Bedado. But sit on a park bench, talk to people in stores, ride on busses over this island, and the hatred that foreign capital, particularly American, has bred in masses of people is as clear as daylight."[63] Herbst tried to move the reader with picturesque language: "Batista, clenching his fist, raising it, bringing it down like a hammer, the pale opal ring holding the eye like a monotonous portent."[64] But most importantly, she wanted the reader to feel, to identify with the victims:

> Even greater than the terrible need for food and shelter is the now universal craving to be free, to feel some personal security; for the family at home not to sit with sinking hearts if the son does not return; for the student to be able to speak without being beaten sometimes to death; for terror to be finished.[65]

Near the end of the article, Herbst used a variation of the exposé quotation technique. She quoted the outlook of businessmen and then contrasted it with facts about public health:

> "Things are better," say hopeful businessmen, "look at rents, they are up, a sure sign." But the answer comes from the head of the Tuberculosis Sanitarium on this island. "Tuberculosis is on the up grade. We have 500 beds and need 5,000. People are hungry because rents take too much money. All diseases are on the increase."[66]

Throughout the article Herbst conveyed a sense of the hardship of Cuban people. By the end, the modern reader gains some understanding of the horrible conditions that eventually led to Castro's Revolution.

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61. Josephine Herbst, "Cuba – Sick for Freedom," *New Masses*, 2 April 1935, 17.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., 18.

Conclusion

The power of Herbst's journalistic style came from her concern for human rights and her leftist ideology. When she investigated a story, she did not stop at the standard official sources, such as government and economic leaders. Instead she talked to ordinary people, workers and farmers, whose rights were being abridged. In the construction of her stories, she used techniques such as the exposé quotation and short economic histories to argue that human rights violations were the result of the capitalistic order, which benefited groups with economic and government power. The impression created by Herbst in her stories was colorful and emotionally vivid. She tried to develop a realistic feeling about the story for her readers by placing herself in the account, at the scene, even observing herself reporting. The result was that her journalism has a sense of urgency that is often absent in contemporary journalism.

Herbst used history to frame her stories. She focused on the social, economic, and political dynamics of historical change and the active participation of citizens in determining the direction of change. Like many Marxists, Herbst believed that history would either gravitate toward monopoly capitalism, economic crisis, and fascism, or be led toward socialism by the political activism of workers and farmers. She believed that human rights provided an index by which the quality of historical change could be judged. She believed socialism would bring about the greatest good for the greatest number of people, and she saw her journalism as contributing to this kind of socialism. When she reported events from an "establishment" perspective, she juxtaposed the official account with a leftist one to reveal and ridicule the absurdity, self-interest, and corruption of public officials. She found either economic depression or political terror almost everywhere she went, and she tried to report events as local people experienced them.

Her warnings to readers about the coming of World War II were ignored. Unable to influence the direction of history away from war, her worst fears were realized when nothing was done to prevent Hitler's illegal militarization of Germany. She anticipated war because her leftist perspective called her attention to the collaboration between the leaders of Germany's economic and military sectors. Military-industrial alliances in Spain, Germany, Cuba, and South America and the immense economic power and influence wielded by capitalists in the United States were themes to which she constantly returned.

So was the suffering of the common person. She constantly asked one question as she gathered information for her stories: Is society organized so that peoples' needs are met? This question, and her answer, informed her journalistic enterprise and writing style.

Many American leftists like Herbst were moved by a value-oriented approach to journalism. Their humanistic vision and concern for human rights, as well as the events of the period, led them to left politics. There is nothing in Herbst's writing to suggest that she thought it necessary to sacrifice personal liberty to achieve social equality as occurred under Stalin. Unfortunately, this major difference in leftist ideologies—between humanistic socialism and its social democratic concerns and totalitarian Stalinist communism—is often overlooked.

Herbst's journalism must be examined critically. Although she was not dogmatic, problems of historicism and scientism also derive from her leftist

framework. She believed that socialism, through organized class struggle, would inevitably replace capitalism (historicism) and that reasoned scientific economic management (modernist scientism) would benefit everyone rather than profiting a few. These beliefs were a source of optimism for her, and they underscore the place of Marxist thought within the enlightenment tradition. Although few today believe in historical inevitabilities or have such unswerving faith in science, the works of authors like Herbst should be studied because their writing is founded on the modernist belief that social democracy can be achieved and that journalism is fundamental to it. This political ideal attracted Herbst to the political left and to journalism.

When World War II broke out, many radicals went to work for the U.S. government, seeing fascism in Europe as more dangerous than capitalism in the United States. Herbst offered her services to the Office of War Information. She was hired to work at the German desk of the Donovan Committee. However, under the shelter of war, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began its "Red" hunt that lasted throughout the war and into the fifties.

One day while she was writing a propaganda piece for broadcast to Nazi Germany, in which she stated that there was no Gestapo in the United States, an OWI security guard informed her that she and Julia Older, another writer, had been fired. "Armed guards examined Miss Herbst's and Miss Older's papers and personal effects; then they confiscated their badges and poked into their handbags. Finally, they escorted the writers from the building past their gaping fellow workers....Neither Miss Herbst nor Miss Older was informed of the charges against them."[67]

Older fought her loss of employment and was reinstated several months later. Herbst was too poor to remain in Washington to fight a legal battle. But before she left, she went from office to office trying to find what charges led to her dismissal. Responsibility for her firing was never accepted by anyone. No official charges were ever made. [68]

Herbst went to Chicago where she wrote book reviews for the *Chicago Sun* and public relations material for the Board of Health. Two novels were published during the forties, *Satan's Sergeants* and *Somewhere the Tempest Fell.* In 1954, she published *New Green World,* a biography of John Bartram, a Pennsylvania naturalist. That year "Hunter of Doves," a novella, appeared in *Botteghe Oscure,* an Italian periodical. It was the first and only in a series to have been written about the writers that Herbst knew and their predicament. Because she had been close to Hemingway, Dos Passos, Dreiser, Jack Conroy, and William Carlos Williams, it is unfortunate that she did not complete other stories in the series. In 1957 and 1966, she received grants to help finance a volume of memoirs; five chapters were written and three were published in literary journals.[69] She lived the last years of her life in poverty. Hemingway's wife, Pauline Pfeiffer, told *New York Review of Books* critic Alfred Kazin that "a woman shouldn't be that poor."[70]

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67. "Guards Ousted Liberal Writer from COI Job," *PM,* 15 June 1942.
68. Josephine Herbst, "Yesterday's Road," *New American Review* 3 (April 1968), 85.
69. Winifred Bevilacqua, "An Introduction to Josephine Herbst, Novelist," *Books at Iowa* 25 (November 1976), 5-6.
70. Alfred Kazin, "Josephine Herbst (1897-1969)," *New York Review of Books,* 27 March 1969, 19.

Two sentences were entered in Josephine Herbst's medical chart on 25 January 1969. "I want you to give a final message to my friends. Tell them that I do not repent, that I love life unto eternity, love and life." She died three days later at the age of 71.[71]

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71. Ibid.

Free Speech Without an 'If' or a 'But': The Defense of Free Expression in the Radical Periodicals of Home, Washington, 1897-1912

By Nathaniel Hong

A determined band of radicals practiced a no-holds-barred kind of journalism in an anarchist community in the Northwestern United States at the turn of the century. During a time when community and legal tolerance of free expression was limited, the editors found themselves hounded by postmasters, citizens, and prosecutors.

A broad conception of First Amendment protection was slow to win acceptance in the American judiciary. In the period between the ratification of the First Amendment in 1791 and the dawn of legal recognition for constitutional protections after World War I, the task of arguing for and defending the right of freedom of expression fell largely to social reformers and political radicals.[1] Recent scholarship has focused on the prominence of anarchists in the struggle over the meaning and limits of freedom of press and expression in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.[2]

1. See David Kairys' chapter "Freedom of Speech," in *The Politics of Law* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 140-171, for a history of social and religious activists' contribution to the defense of free speech during this period.

2. In her recent book, Donna Lee Dickerson noted that the traditional reluctance to employ governmental suppression of the press in the nineteenth century was being tested by the challenge of radical labor and most notably the American anarchist movement at the century's end. *The Course of Tolerance: Freedom of the Press in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990), 228-232. Richard Polenberg, examined the landmark First Amendment case involving immigrant anarchist propagandists in *Fighting Faiths: The Abrams Case, the Supreme Court, and Free Speech* (New York: Viking, 1987). Linda Cobb-Reilly has

This article examines the development of an ideology of free expression in the pages of, and events involving, the newspapers of an anarchist community at Home, Washington.

Home's newspaper editors contributed an early and well-developed intellectual defense of free expression in their journalism and by their example.[3] The Home periodicals anchored the northwestern-most outpost of a small network of American anarchist periodicals publishing in the first decade of the twentieth century. The community's periodicals are significant for being in the vanguard of American journalism in consistently articulating the libertarian logic of a system of freedom of expression, for devoting themselves to comparing the de jure limits and the meaning of the First Amendment and for contributing to making the debate over freedom of expression a national one.[4]

Home was started by three poor radical families, all survivors of the failed socialist Glennis Cooperative near Mount Rainier. They retained a faith in the idea of cooperative community experimentation, but desired a libertarian-socialist or anarchist approach. Incorporated as the Mutual Home Association under a land trust arrangement allowing people two acres to build on and cultivate, a village was hacked out of the stumpland surrounding Joe's Bay beginning in 1896.[5] Tolerance, voluntary cooperation, respect for others' freedom were the community's watchwords, and Home flourished for almost two

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examined governmental suppression of the American anarchist movement in "Aliens and Alien Ideas: The Suppression of Anarchists and the Anarchist Press in America, 1901-1914," *Journalism History* 15 (Summer-Autumn 1988): 50-69. Nathaniel Hong analysed the press campaign to fashion anarchism as a negative political symbol in "Constructing the Anarchist Beast in American Periodical Literature, 1880-1903," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 9 (March 1992): 110-130, and to pass immigration legislation against anarchists based on political opinions in "The Origin of American Legislation to Exclude and Deport Aliens for Their Political Beliefs and Its Initial Review by the Courts," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18 (Summer 1990): 1-36, and legal repression in "They Hang Editors Don't They? Free Speech and Press Issues in the Haymarket Trial, 1886" (Research paper presented at American Journalism Historians Association conference, Cour d'Alene, Idaho, October 1990).

3. This study is based on a reading of the extant issues of Home periodicals: *New Era* (1897, two issues), *Discontent* (1898-1902), *The Demonstrator* (1903-1908) and *The Agitator* (1910-1912). In addition, the research is based on the Home Archive at Pierce County Branch Library, Key Center, Washington; the Jay Fox archive, University of Washington Library, Manuscript Division; Jay Fox Papers, Ross Rieder's collection; Roland Muirhead Diary, Newspaper and Microform Collection, University of Washington Library; extensive newspaper journalism about Home in Pacific Northwest newspapers; the Home archive of and interviews with Sylvia Retherferd, grand daughter of one of Home's founders; and Charles LeWarne, "Communitarian Experiments in Western Washington, 1885-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1969); and state and federal court briefs.

4. Attempts to stifle the small network of anarchist publications accumulated during the decade and included President Theodore Roosevelt's intervention to exclude altogether the anarchist Italian-language *La Questione Sociale* from the mail in 1907 and repeated local efforts to deny Emma Goldman the opportunity to give public speeches during her nationwide lecture tours to support her monthly magazine *Mother Earth*.

5. Settlement began in 1896. The Mutual Home Association incorporation papers establishing the landtrust arrangement were filed in January 1898.

decades to become the longest-lived of the many utopian communities in western Washington.[6] But Home's dissident character was an affront to local authorities and was variously described by its official detractors as a colony of "malcontents and discontents" [7], "a collection of outlaws, male and female...a nest of vipers... [an] unclean den of infamy" [8] , and more accurately as "a settlement of avowed anarchists and free lovers." [9]

Home, a rural backwater on Puget Sound accessible only by steamer, became a center for anarchist English-language journalism in America. Six periodicals were published in Home between 1897 to 1912 aimed at a national audience and each endured government harassment and attempts at suppression. State and federal authorities used postal regulations and obscenity and anti-anarchist laws to disrupt and suppress its periodicals and those periodicals responded by elaborating an argument for wide latitude in public debate. The papers and their editors also were committed philosophically to the idea and practice of free expression as a corollary of anarchism's rejection of external authority and state coercion.

The first periodical published at Home was *The New Era*, a four-page pamphlet-sized monthly. It appeared in March 1897 and was edited by O. A. Verity, an Oberlin College alumnus. The few examples that have survived address anti-statism and discuss the principles of the Home Association. This paper, editor George Allen wrote later, was denied use of the U.S. mails and died as a result.[10]

The arrival of a printer, Charles Govan, revived newspaper publishing at Home under the name *Discontent: Mother of Progress* on 11 May 1898. It announced its anarchist and communist beliefs and during its first year was the work of eleven or twelve (about one-fourth) of the community's adult population.[11] While it hoped for the day "when freedom of speech and rights of all, Shall have men's approbation," the newspaper group concluded that it had to try and avoid the "oppressive hand of Anthony Comstock."[12]

This it succeeded in doing for a time, though its sister anarchist-communist journal in Portland, Oregon, *The Firebrand*, did not during the autumn of 1897. *Discontent* publicized the case as "one more attempt to

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6. See LeWarne, chapter six, "Home: Nest of Anarchy or Haven of Individualism?" or his chapter of the same title in *Utopias on Puget Sound, 1885-1915* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), 168-226, for a narrative history of the community.

7. Prosecuting Attorney J. L. McMurray. Briefs in the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, No. 10451. Department Two, 29 November 1912. Respondent's Brief, 3.

8. *Tacoma Ledger* , 14 September 1901.

9. Pierce County Grand Jury, quoted in "U. S. Grand Jury Objects to the Post Office at 'Home'," *Tacoma Evening News*, 7 March 1902, 1.

10. George Allen, "Our Paper," *Discontent* , 4 January 1899, 4.

11. "Our Post Office," *Discontent*, 26 October 1898, 4, lists eleven newspaper workers; "Our Paper," *Discontent*, 4 January 1899, 4, lists twelve. "Association Notes," *Discontent*, 21 December 1898, 4, lists thirty-three members of the Association, "not all living here." "Association Notes," *Discontent*, 28 June 1899, 4, lists sixty people, including children.

12. C. L. Penhallow's poem "Labor's Empire," *Discontent*, 13 July 1898, 1, and George Allen, "Our Paper," *Discontent*, 4 January 4, 1899, 4.

smother free press and free speech" and two of the paper's editors, Henry Addis and Abner Pope, moved to Home in 1898, the latter after serving a four-month prison sentence for printing and mailing an allegedly obscene poem by Walt Whitman.[13] In two separate incidents, the paper also defended the right of Charles C. Moore, editor of the *Kentucky Blue Grass Blade* in Lexington, against obscenity charges for his satire of Christianity and urged subscriptions and contributions to that paper and its defense committee.[14]

Discontent's turn for trouble came early in 1901. A post office inspector, responding to a complaint by an Atlanta preacher, arrested editor Govan on a charge of mailing obscene material, an article on sexual politics by former *Firebrand* editor, Henry Addis. Govan was taken to Seattle and advised by comrades there to plead no contest for reasons of expediency, while disputing that the article was obscene. The $100 fine was raised and paid and Govan returned to Home.[15]

On 24 September 1901 three of *Discontent*'s collaborators – Govan, James Adams, and James Larkin – were arrested under the Comstock law for "depositing, lewd, lascivious, and obscene material in the mails." This charge involved a free-love article by Adams that called for "uncompromising warfare upon marriage as exemplified in common usage, in common law; where woman is 'given in marriage,' and becomes a household drudge and a sexual slave in her husband's home."[16] *Discontent* viewed the charges as another incident in the history of persecution of sex radicals in America and as an attempt to punish Home and its paper for their anarchist beliefs.[17] This persecution followed close on the heels of Leon Czolgosz' assassination of President McKinley, an act blamed on the anarchist movement as a whole.[18] Home had only narrowly avoided vigilante action from the nearby city of Tacoma and this case and the Waisbrooker-Penhallow case to be described shortly, were unquestionably an effort by the authorities to strike "a blow against Anarchy" during the post-assassination Red-scare.[19]

This time the newspaper defended itself vigorously and James F. Morton, Jr. played a role in the change in tactics. Morton had arrived in June 1901 after Govan's first arrest to live at Home and work on *Discontent*. He penned an appeal "To the Liberal Public" in the 13 November 1901 issue of the

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13. "Association Notes," *Discontent*, 13 July 1899, 4, and LeWarne, *Utopias on Puget Sound 1885-1915* , 175.
14. "Editor Moore Convicted," *Discontent*, 1 March 1899, 4; "To Help C. C. Moore," *Discontent*, 8 March 1899, 4; "Proclamation To all Friends of Free Thought, Free Press and Free Speech," *Discontent*, 20 June 1900, 4; "C.C. Moore Acquitted," *Discontent*, 31 October 1900, 2.
15. See "To Those Interested," *Discontent*, 6 March 1901, 1, for a fuller account of this incident.
16. James Adams, "A Healthy Comparison," *Discontent*, 30 January 1901, 2.
17. "To the Liberal Public," *Discontent*, 13 November 1901, 1.
18. The 24 September 1901 *Tacoma Evening News*' front page consisted of the Home arrests top and center, flanked by stories of the guilty verdict in the Czolgosz case of the assassination of President McKinley and the release of Emma Goldman (called the "High Priestess of Anarchy" by the paper) in Chicago for suspected involvement in the assassination plot.
19. "To the Liberal Public," *Discontent*, 13 November 1901, 1, quoting the *Tacoma News*.

paper urging wide publicity for the case and declared that the "comrades at Home do not propose to surrender their liberties without testing the matter thoroughly. They know their rights and are determined to maintain them."[20] He castigated liberals for not defending anarchists during the hysteria immediately following the McKinley assassination and presented the *Demonstrator*'s free press case as an opportunity for atonement.[21] Two weeks later he worried about the strange reluctance of various sectors of the state-socialist movement to wake up to the danger of free press issues and protect the principle before it was weakened and repressive efforts were aimed at their own press organs.[22] A *Demonstrator* defense fund was started and contributions flowed in from every region of the country and some parts outside it, soon surpassing the $500 goal, in spite of efforts by the post office to disrupt the mailing of the paper.[23]

After last minute jockeying by the grand jury, which dropped Govan's indictment, the trial proceeded on 11 March 1902. The prosecution began its case examining C. L. Wayland, the man who sought out a subscription to *Discontent* with an eye to initiating legal action. After the noon recess, presiding Judge C. H. Hanford unexpectedly and dramatically announced that he had read the offending article over lunch and did not consider it either obscene or unmailable. He went on, in Morton's recount of the court session, to note that if "such an article should be held to form a legitimate basis for indictment, a vast burden would be placed on courts in the future to select the small amount of mailable material from the enormous quantity which was unmailable."[24] The jury was directed to deliver a not guilty verdict and *Discontent* characterized the outcome as "the most liberal judicial opinion secured during nearly thirty years of struggle with the Comstock law."[25] The *Tacoma News* acknowledged the acquittal, but warned that the "Anarchists and free lovers at Home should publish no more such indecent rot."[26]

But Home's troubles were not over. The same grand jury that dropped Govan's indictment laid new obscenity charges against 76-year-old Lois Waisbrooker, editor and publisher of *Clothed With the Sun*, a monthly paper that pushed for women's emancipation and discussed sexual politics, for an article entitled "The Awful Fate of Fallen Women." *Discontent* described the indicted article as "simply a burning protest against the wrongs inflicted by society on women."[27] The *Tacoma Ledger* described the literature coming out of Home as "actual filth," and referred to Waisbrooker and her paper as "the worst... the work of an old woman, apparently a senile pervert."[28] The grand jury also indicted the community's postmistress, Mattie D. Penhallow, for mailing the "obscene" periodical, and Waisbrooker and Penhallow were tried on 15 July 1902

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20. "To the Liberal Public," *Discontent*, 13 November 1901, 1.
21. "Off and On," *Discontent*, 13 November 1901, 2.
22. "Off and On," *Discontent*, 27 November 1901, 2.
23. William Platt, "A British Protest," *Discontent*, 5 February 1902, 1, O. A. Verity, "Defence Fund Closed," *Discontent*, 19 February 1902, 4, and James F. Morton Jr., "Discontent Held Up!" *Discontent*, 18 December 1901, 1.
24. James F. Morton Jr., "Victory," *Discontent*, 19 March 1902, 1.
25. Ibid.
26. Quoted in "Two Views," *Discontent*, 19 March 1902, 4. The other Tacoma newspaper, *The Sun- Democrat* applauded the verdict.
27. "Our Defence Fund," *Discontent*, 23 April 1902, 4.
28. "Not Many Places Like Home," *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, 8 March 1902.

in Tacoma. Waisbrooker was found guilty and fined $100, and Penhallow was acquitted.

Without waiting for a determination of guilt, the March grand jury made the extraordinary recommendation that the U.S. Postmaster close the Home post office permanently, because "it is used by anarchists and free lovers."[29] Without investigation, the postmaster general dutifully complied, and the post office in Home was taken away on 30 April 1902, causing *Discontent* to exclaim, "To such lengths is it possible to carry persecution for opinion's sake, in 'free America'."[30] The 23 April 1902 *Discontent* was the last issue published, coinciding with the removal of the post office and consequent loss of second class mailing privileges.

Ten months later, on 11 March 1903, a weekly newspaper, *The Demonstrator*, with James F. Morton Jr. as editor and many of the same contributors as *Discontent* appeared, emanating from Home, but mailed out of Lakebay, a few miles to the south.[31] The paper was immediately harassed by the post office authorities using the issue of second class mailing privileges.[32] This had become one of the ways federal authorities tried to disrupt radical publications because second class postage rates, at 1 cent per pound, made publishing activity economically viable. This was especially so for small circulation advocacy newspapers, dependent almost exclusively on subscriptions for operating money and exchanges with other periodicals for news gathering.

A critical mass formed at Home around the free press-free speech issue, partly because of the experiences of Henry Addis and Abner Pope from *The Firebrand* case, Lois Waisbroker's experience with obscenity charges for an article in the Kansas periodical *Lucifer* in 1892, and the series of actions against the Home periodicals described above. The lead article of the first issue of *The Demonstrator* noted that radical and reform periodicals "treat the issue of free speech as a subsidiary question, worthy of only slight and occasional attention"[33] and went on to announce:

> There is, however, need of a publication with which this momentous question shall be much more than a side issue. *The Demonstrator* hopes, to some extent, to fill this gap, and

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29. J. W. Gaskine, "The Federal Grand Jury and the Home Post Office," *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, 10 March 1902.

30. "A New Infamy," *Discontent*, 23 April 1902, 4. Dr. Richard Kielbowicz of the University of Washington School of Communications, an expert in the history of U.S. postal affairs, can recall no other post office being closed on account of a community's opinion.

31. Morton moved to Home in 1901 and edited *The Demonstrator* beginning in the spring of 1903. He was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Harvard.

32. For accounts in *The Demonstrator* on the newspaper's difficulties in getting second class mailing privileges see "Important Notice," 3 June 1903, 2; James F. Morton Jr., "Under Fire From Madden," 10 June 1903, 1; "Our Position," 17 June 1903, 1, and "To Our Friends," 15 July 1903, 1.

33. A frustrated Morton wrote later that the erosion of free expression rights was due to "the criminal weakness of the American people, including ninety-nine hundreths of the radical and reform element, in ignoring the paramount importance of the issue of free speech." "Who Is to Blame?"*The Demonstrator*, 16 December 1903, 1.

invokes the support and assistance of all who believe that in freedom of expression lies the pathway to human progress.[34]

Beginning in the second issue, Morton published an eight-part series entitled "Do You Want Free Speech?" on the front page of the newspaper. In this series, Morton recognized a central paradox between the American formal committment to a system of free expression and its absence when it really mattered. This paradox involved the "theoretically admitting the right of all men to a free expression of their opinions" while finding "specious excuses for denying it in practice to those who hold unpopular opinions." [35] The series laid out an argument for an absolutist position on free speech and press, weaving ideas about the value and function of free speech that only decades later began to find their way into American legal doctrine. These articles included these concepts: the marketplace of ideas in which truth is vindicated and falsehood defeated by more exposure, rather than less; workers and their organizations were being gagged by injunction; defining obscenity is inherently ambiguous; and making exceptions to free expression protection tended to subvert the general principle itself.[36] Morton insisted that "Free speech without an 'if' or a 'but'" was the only kind worth having.[37]

Morton and *The Demonstrator* kept track of a wide variety of intrusions and limitations of freedom of speech in the post office (against *Wilshire's Magazine, Appeal to Reason, Lucifer, Free Society),* in American universities (suppression of a student Socialist club at Washburn College, dismissal of professors and presidents in Rhode Island, Illinois, Wisconsin, and California), on the streets of American cities (soap-boxing arrest in Olympia, Washington., right to assembly abrogated in Paterson, New Jersey), in libel law (Pennsylvania law aimed at criticism of the actions of public officials), and in American immigration law (epitomized in the 1903 John Turner deportation case under the anarchist exclusion provisions). It also argued for support of and promoted joint action with the newly-formed Free Speech League in New York city. Agitation on behalf of free speech was well covered in *The Demonstrator* and vigorously recommended by it.[38] The paper operated both as a journalistic clearinghouse

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34. Morton had placed the following item in the last issue of *Discontent* that indicated his interest in monitoring and pursuing this issue: "Do not forget to send in all the news relating in any way to the subject of free speech. Let me have PROMPT information with regard to any case of persecution. Also send me any newspaper or magazine articles or notes in any way bearing on the subject." "Off and On," *Discontent,* 23 April 1902, 2.

35. "Do You Want Free Speech?" *The Demonstrator,* 25 March 1903, 1.

36. For example, regarding truth vs. falsehood: "The best way to silence a liar is to refute and expose him; and if there can be such a thing as the abuse of free speech, its influence is easily to be overcome by turning on the light... The desire for a censorship betrays lack of confidence in the truth." "Do You Want Free Speech?" *The Demonstrator,* 15 April 1903, 1. Regarding obscenity: "Unlike other criminal legislation, this [obscenity] statute created a crime incapable of exact definition... Everybody knows what burglary and homicide are; but nobody knows what obscenity is." "Do You Want Free Speech?" *The Demonstrator,* 1 April 1903, 1.

37. "Do You Want Free Speech?" *The Demonstrator,* 15 April 1903, 1.

38. See the last two paragraphs of "The Turner Outrage," *The Demonstrator,* 1 December 1903, 1, for advice and exhortations for action, including letter writing to

about the practice of the suppression of expression in America and as a focal point for those interested in the social recognition and political defense of free expression.

Morton left Home in November 1905 for New York and *The Demonstrator* was to have transferred to the editorship of Jay Fox, a Chicago anarchist. Fox, a veteran of the May general strike disturbances of 1886 that culminated in the Haymarket "riot," did not immediately move west and the paper went through several short-term editors and disappeared in 1908.

Nearly two years later Jay Fox finally arrived in Home to resurrect the anarchist publishing project and, armed with Ezra Heywood's old printing press, started publishing a four-page weekly called *The Agitator*.[39] The paper reflected Fox's focus on labor issues, particularly the need for industrial unionism and anarcho-syndicalism to deal with labor's loss of power under monopoly capitalism. His biting, folksy writing style was well suited to his task of putting out a paper to rouse the rank-and-file working-stiff to organized resistance and revolutionary unionism.[40]

Fox, like Morton before him, was philosophically committed to free expression because of his anarchism. But he also had a more developed appreciation for its pragmatic contribution to developing dissident political movements. Fox insisted the "free press is the most vital element in the education and organization of the working class. It is our medium of thot [sic] exchange, and we cannot grow without it."[41]

In his regular column "The Passing Show," Fox chronicled the free speech battlefield as it played out in America. His subjects included the fierce attempts to deny the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) the right to soapbox in west coast cities[42], suppression of Emma Goldman's lectures[43], the use of

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periodicals, distributing Morton's "Do You Want Free Speech?" pamphlet and contributing money for Turner's defense.

39. "*The Agitator* is printed on one of the most ancient presses in America, the style of press Benjamin Franklin used to print the *Gazette* in 1728. It is the oldest press in use in this country. It was sent to the colony from the east about twelve years ago. One of the first radical papers published in the country was printed on it. Some fifty years ago, Ezra Haywood (sic), one of the first American Anarchists printed The Word on this press." "The Agitator in History," *The Agitator*, 1 April 1912, 3.

40. In addition to *The Agitator* material, Ross Reider's Fox papers and the University of Washington Archives contain handwritten unpublished manuscripts that illustrate Fox's style, which might be said to be a close cultural/political relative of the Industrial Workers of the World propaganda, depending on a working-class vocabulary, incisive humor, and contempt for habituated thinking.

41. "The Passing Show," *The Agitator*, 1 September 1911, 1.

42. See *The Agitator*, "The Fresno Mob," 1 January 1911, 4; "On to Fresno," 1 February 1911, 4; "The Fresno Fight Still On," 15 February 1911, 1; "The Passing Show," 15 March 1911, 1; "Solidarity Won in Fresno," 15 March 1911, 4; "On to Aberdeen," 1 December 1911, 2; "Thugs Rule in Aberdeen," 15 December 1911, 1; "San Diego Free Speech Fight," 15 March 1912, 4; and "The San Diego Fight," 1 April 1912, 1.

43. "Emma Goldman couldn't recite the Lord's Prayer in Indianapolis - Superintendent of Police Hyland." "The Passing Show," *The Agitator*, 15 December 1910, 1.

court injunctions to break strikes[44], flag desecration legislation[45], and convictions and punishment for political cartooning.[46] Fox saw these as forming an "attack on free speech [that] is becoming general throughout the country. It is plain the ruling and employing class is making a concentrated effort to drive the agitators off the streets."[47] Fox maintained that laws were constructed for the systematic protection of class interests and the efforts to suppress political and labor radical's speech were attempts to control their ideas and influence.

The officially tolerated vigilante violence that accompanied the suppression of radical speech and the notable lack of success in defending free speech in the courts during this time give substance to the view. Although radicals sought protection for their activity under the First Amendment, the reality was better illustrated by the New York policeman brandishing his nightstick and saying, "This is the Constitution."[48] As a column reprinted in *The Agitator* succinctly put it: "The right to express one's views is taken from a good many even with the constitution of the United States to back them up in their right to a free press and free speech."[49]

The Agitator viewed freedom of speech as instrumental to the attempt to change society. But it also subscribed to the idea that the press was a social institution that "embodies the working of the human mind in all its phases" and that it was a means for articulating people's "needs, the needs of common necessity."[50] The press, in other words, was where society did its thinking and "when you make criticism a crime you are not only reverting back to monarchy, you are violating the most sacred charter of Liberty - the Freedom of Speech."[51]

Like Home's previous newspapers, *The Agitator* soon ran afoul of the authorities. This time it grew out of rivalry within Home itself. Some Home inhabitants swam nude in Joe's Bay; this practice had never before posed a problem, because of the rural isolation of the community and its tolerant spirit. By the summer of 1911, however, some people had been attracted to Home for purely economic reasons and did not share the political and cultural identity of the village.[52] Some took offense at the practice, actively spied upon its practitioners, and caused the arrest of four people on indecent exposure charges.

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44. "Colorado Miners Given a Year for 'Contempt' " *The Agitator*, 15 January 1911, 1; "Slavery By Injunction," 15 August 1911, 1.
45. "Compulsory Patriotism," *The Agitator*. 15 August 1911, 1.
46. "The Passing Show," *The Agitator*, 15 April 1912, 1.
47. "The Free Speech Fights," *The Agitator*, 1 March 1912, 1.
48. Quoted in "Free Speech Fight," *The Agitator*, 15 December 1910, 1.
49. "The Freedom of the Press," *The Agitator*, 15 September 1911, 2. Reprinted from the *Progressive Democrat.*
50. "Fighting for a Principle," 1 December 1911, 2, and "The Freedom of the Press," *The Agitator*, 15 September 1911, 2. Both reprinted from the *Progressive Democrat.*
51. "The Agitator in History," *The Agitator*, 1 April 1912, 3.
52. The report of the Secretary of the Mutual Home Association, 11 December 1911, put it this way: "People who can only appreciate material advantages, and care nothing for the aspirations of the Home people, settled among us. Within the past year we have been persecuted and molested by these people, who are too narrow-minded to allow different actions from their own to take place, for the sole reason that they are too ignorant and too intolerant to be able to understand different motives from their own." "Home, What it Stands For," *The Agitator*, 15 March 1912, 2.

Fox responded in a column in the 1 July 1911 issue of *The Agitator* headlined "The Nudes and the Prudes." He blasted the prude for having a

> vulgar mind [that] sees his own reflection in everything it views. Polution (sic) cannot escape from polution and the poluted mind that sees its own reflection in the nude body of a fellow being, and arises in early morning to enjoy the feast, and then calls the law to punish the innocent victims whose clean bodies aroused the savage instincts, is not fit company for civilized people, and should be avoided.[53]

The remainder of the column called for the social boycott of the prudes until they admitted their error in trying "to suppress the people's freedom." It ended with a ringing call to take sides:

> There is no possible grounds on which a libertarian can escape taking part in this effort to protect the freedom of Home. There is no half way. Those who refuse to aid the defense is aiding the other side. For those who want liberty and will not fight for it are parasites and do not deserve freedom. Those who are indifferent to the invasion, who can see an innocent woman torn from the side of her children and packed off to jail and are not moved to action, can not be counted among the rebels of authority. Their place is with the enemy.
>
> The boycott will be pushed until these invaders will see the brutal mistake of their action and so inform the people.[54]

Six weeks after the column appeared Fox was arrested and charged with "publishing matter tending to create disrespect for the law."[55] The law had been passed during the anti-anarchist hysteria following McKinley's assassination and had never been used before.[56] The law was both vague and broad, seemingly able to ban the critical discourse that forms the essence of a dynamic democratic society. Fox complained that "If our writers and speakers cannot criticize decisions of the courts and point out the absurdities on the statute books without being imprisoned, all progress must come to a standstill, for it is only as mistakes of the past are discovered and remedied that progress is made."[57]

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53. "The Nudes and the Prudes," *The Agitator*, 1 July 1911, 2.
54. Ibid.
55. "Arrest of the Editor," *The Agitator* , 1 September 1911, 1.
56. The law Fox was charged under was Section 2564 of Remington and Ballinger's Code of Washington which reads: "Every Person who shall wilfully print, publish, edit, issue or knowingly circulate, sell, distribute or display any book, paper or document or written or printed matter in any form, advocating, encouraging or inciting, or having a tendency to encourage or incite the commission of any crime, breach of the peace or act of violence, or which shall tend to encourage or advocate disrespect for law or for any court or courts of justice, shall be guilty of a gross misdemeanor." Quoted from *The Free Speech Case of Jay Fox* (New York: Free Speech League, 1912), 3-4.
57. "Arrest of the Editor," *The Agitator*, 1 September 1911, 1.

Others sensed the social import of the prosecution as well. From New York city, former *Demonstrator* editor Morton wrote several pieces for *The Truthseeker* about the case. As he had in the past, he brought his passion and penetrating analytical mind to bear on what such a prosecution meant to society generally. He declared that

> A cleaner, straighter test case could hardly be devised. If Jay Fox is convicted, it means that in the State of Washington free speech is absolutely dead... In short, it would become an actual crime to criticize any law, or to advocate reforms in legislation. In its implications it is no ordinary case of invasion, but the most damnable attack on the whole principle of free speech which has yet been made... It is naked unconstitutional tyranny.[58]

A Pierce County Free Speech League was formed by Home inhabitants to solicit funds to defend Fox.[59] The Spokane IWW newspaper *The Industrial Worker* announced the support of the union's west coast organization, and an interest in the case was taken by the New York Free Speech League.[60]

The Fox case went to trial on 10 January 1912. Anarchism was immediately injected into the trial by the prosecution, which methodically queried each prospective juror to see if they believed in it.[61] The prosecution harped on anarchism to paint Fox with the broad brush of its onerous reputation.[62] Home's local reputation was brought forward as well, causing Fox's lawyer to complain on appeal:

> ...counsel for the state was permitted to dwell upon the matter of anarchy and the alleged "anarchistic community" and was permitted to tell the jury that the people in that community believed "it is a man's right to commit incest, robbery, rape and so forth, if he wants to"...[63]

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58. "Another Free Speech Case," *The Agitator*, 1 November 1911, 2.
59. "A Free Speech Fight," *The Agitator*, 1 September 1911, 1.
60. "IF TENDING TO CREATE DISRESPECT FOR LAW is a crime, then the woods are full of likely subjects for the rock pile...There are millions of people in America who have as much respect for the LAW as a Fiji Islander has for a missionary." "Persecution at Home," reprinted from the IWW *Industrial Worker* in *The Agitator*, 15 September 1911, 3. Emphasis in original.
61. Before the trial James Morton Jr. wrote: "The district attorney has made no secret of the fact that he relies on prejudice for the corrupt verdict he seeks, and that he intends to drag into the trial all that he can about the Anarchist and radical sex reform views of the colonists, in order to stir up animosity on the part of the jury and prevent an honest verdict." "Another Free Speech Case," *The Agitator*, 1 November 1911, 2.
62. See Hong, "Constructing the Anarchist Beast in American Periodical Literature 1880-1903," 110-130, for an examination of the construction of the anarchist's reputation in America.
63. Briefs in the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, No. 10451. Department Two, 29 November 1912. Appellant's Brief: Statement of Case, 18.

Presiding Judge W. O. Chapman refused to instruct the jury about a neutral meaning of political anarchy, but did inform them that politics was not the basis for the prosecution. On the issue of whether the law was aimed at criticism of a particular law or law generally, the judge opted for the latter interpretation.[64] The law, in its general role exercising social control and order, was not to be denigrated and laid low by criticism. Freedom of the press, according to the judge, was never meant "as an engine for evil and designing men to cherish for malicious purposes, sedition, irreligion and impurity."[65]

The jury deliberated twenty-five hours before returning a guilty verdict. They did, however, appeal for leniency in sentencing. Fox was sentenced to two months in jail. In New York, James F. Morton,Jr. responded to news of the conviction by calling it "an unparalleled infamy...Every constitutional guarantee of free speech is reduced to waste paper." He optimistically predicted that "Of course, so unconstitutional a procedure must be promptly reversed by the appellate court. Every friend of free speech should make haste to send his contribution to the expense that will be necessary."[66] The New York Free Speech League issued a pamphlet on the case in April 1912 that declared the prosecution "particularly outrageous and if the law is held to be constitutional, the precedent thus established will be the most dangerous which has yet come from any American court."[67] The League pledged itself to carrying an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The initial appeal to the Washington State Supreme Court argued that the Statute was void because it violated the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and Section 23 of Article 1 of the Washington State Constitution. Fox's lawyer complained that

> ...in restricting the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press the courts have gone to the limit. To go to the length of sustaining the law in question would be to make the said constitutional guaranty only a high-sounding phrase valuable for use only in Fourth of July orations, or upon occasions of similar character.[68]

A second argument was made on the grounds that the state law was too vague and indefinite and that the crime was "purely a matter of speculation and conjecture."[69] A third argument was that the column in question did not in fact

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64. Article 9 in his instructions stated: " 'Disrespect for the law' means a lack of respect for law, as meant by the word law; not necessarily some particular law, unless it be of such a character that disrespect for it imputes a disrespect for law generally as promulgated for the good order of society and protection of the public peace for the establishment of government." Transcript of Record, *Jay Fox, Plaintiff in Error v. The State of Washington.* U.S. Supreme Court, October term, 1914, No. 134, 27.
65. Ibid., 26.
66. "An Outrage on Free Speech," *The Agitator*, 15 March 1912, 2. Reprinted from *The Truthseeker*.
67. *The Free Speech Case of Jay Fox* (New York: New York Free Speech League, 1912), 3.
68. Briefs in the Supreme Court of the State of Washington, No. 10451. Department Two, November 29, 1912. Appellant's Brief, 30.
69. Ibid., 35.

"SAY ONE WORD, EITHER AGAINST LAW IN GENERAL NOR IN CRITICISM ON ANY PARTICULAR LAW," only a "[c]riticism of the 'vulgar mind' of some private citizens..."[70] A close reading of the column's text supports this and, more significantly, there were numerous other articles in *The Agitator* which were much clearer examples of "disrespectful" attacks on law in its general sense. For example, the newspaper had held a fund-raising ball in Seattle predicated on spoofing law. Money was raised by the commission of crimes (stealing fruit, displays of public affection, etc.), being hauled before a magistrate and paying the levied fines.[71]

The state Supreme Court unanimously refused to overturn Fox's conviction on any of the grounds argued. It used an appellate court decision involving the anarchist editor Johan Most of the German-language newspaper *Freiheit* as the legal precedent for disposing of the First Amendment objections.

> While the constitutions of the United States and of this state guarantees the right to freely speak, write and publish upon all subjects, it is not meant thereby that persons may with impunity advocate disregard of law; or as said in *People v. Most*, 171 N.Y. 423, 64 N. E. 175, 58 L. R. A. 509: "While the right to publish is thus sanctioned and secured, the abuse of that right is excepted from the protection of the constitution, and authority to provide for and punish such abuse is left to the legislature. The punishment of those who publish articles which tend to corrupt morals, induce crime, or destroy organized society, is essential to the security of freedom and the stability of the state."[72]

The appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court was taken up by the New York Free Speech League on Fox's behalf and both sides made much the same arguments used in the state appeal. On 23 February 1915, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes delivered the unanimous opinion of the Court sustaining the lower courts. Holmes' opinion sidestepped the First Amendment argument by stating that the statute "should be construed as going no farther than it is necessary to go in order to bring the defendant within it" and that the article in question "by indirection, but unmistakably...encourages and incites a persistence in what we must assume would be a breach of the state laws against indecent exposure; and the jury so found."[73] Thus the case was decided as one of incitement to crime, rather than criticism of law as had been argued up to that point.

Why did Justice Holmes, someone credited with initiating the consideration of First Amendment freedoms in the Supreme Court, turn his back on a case that had been described by Morton as the cleanest, straightest free press case possible? Richard Polenberg, in his book on the *Abrams* case, gives some insight into Holmes' attitudes toward this area of the law at this time. "Writing to friends in the years between *Fox v. Washington* and the wartime Espionage

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70. Ibid., Appellant's Reply Brief, 8-9. Emphasis in original.
71. "The Agitator Ball," *The Agitator*, 15 February 1911, 3.
72. *State v. Fox*. 71 Wash. 185 (1912), 186.
73. 326 U.S. 273 (1915), 277.

Act cases, Holmes referred scornfully to softheaded social reformers who failed to realize that order would always come before liberty, the state before the individual."[74] In fact Holmes was quite blunt about how little protection he thought expression deserved in America: "...we should deal with the act of speech as we deal with any other overt act that we don't like."[75] Jeremy Cohen has recently argued that Oliver Wendell Holmes' jurisprudence before the 1919 *Abrams* case was characterized by a deference to legislative will and a strong predisposition to avoid implicating any constitutional questions involving legislation.[76]

Conclusion

The libertarian logic of a system of freedom of expression articulated in the Home colony's battles over press rights, which now had reached the U.S. Supreme Court in the Fox case, was still too avant-garde to enter the legal mainstream, even in a solitary dissent. Home's journalists were ahead of their reform and radical compatriots as well on the question of free expression.[77] The First Amendment remained a legal dead letter, but its unqualified language of support for press and speech freedoms made it a very important touchstone for American dissident communities in their fight to be able to speak and be heard. The constitution and the First Amendment in particular, enabled them to criticize the restrictive American expression environment on its own terms and develop a defense of free speech and press that was rooted in the country's Enlightenment traditions, and thus make an argument that ultimately was open to wider assimilation.

The efforts of Verity, Govan, Waisbrooker, Morton, Fox, and their newspapers' legal travail contributed to public debate over freedom of expression and helped focus it on the meaning and application of the First Amendment protections. *The Demonstrator* represented one of the very first attempts to devote an American periodical to discussing the subject, to articulating a system of freedom of expression and to monitoring the forces and repressive activities of the government. *The Agitator* case marked a nationalization of the free speech problem, by being taken to the U.S. Supreme Court through the inter-coastal cooperative efforts of defenders of free expression. The free speech efforts centered in the little community of Home, Washington, helped fashion the debate over First Amendment definition at a critical juncture. The agitators of Home and their supporters in the New York Free Speech League were precursors to the

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74. Richard Polenberg, *Fighting Faiths: The Abrams Case, the Supreme Court, and Free Speech* (New York: Viking, 1987), 211.

75. Ibid., 212. Quotation from 7 July 1918 letter to Harold Laski.

76. Jeremy Cohen, *Congress Shall Make No Law* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989).

77. Some anarchist papers did not apprehend the significance of Fox's case, prompting him to write a blistering reprimand of the editor of the New York Yiddish-language anarchist newspaper *Frei Arbeiter Stimme*. In "A 'Revolutionary' Editor Exposed," *The Agitator*, 1 January 1912, 2, Fox wrote: "You surely must see the importance of holding on to the speck of liberty which enables us to publish our views to the world, and I am sure you do not consciously mean to stand idly by and let others fight to maintain that little liberty, without giving a helping hand. Yet the attitude of indifference you have assumed in this case points directly to that conclusion."

American Civil Liberties Union which inherited and built upon their tradition of fighting for wider constitutional protections for expression. There is a place like Home in the intellectual and social history of free expression in America, a place that helped move the question of the First Amendment's meaning onto the post-World War I legal agenda.

The author recently completed his doctorate at the University of Washington's School of Communications.

'The most dangerous of all Negro journals': Federal Efforts to Suppress the *Chicago Defender* During World War I

By Theodore Kornweibel Jr.

During World War I the federal political intelligence system threatened the press with suppression if it did not exhibit 100 percent patriotism. One of its targets was the nation's most influential black newspaper, Robert Abbott's Chicago Defender, *whose exposure of lynching and other injustices brought charges of disloyality, forcing Abbott to mute the newspaper's legitimate criticism of American racism.*

World War I created the opportunity for the federal government to crack down on black publications which challenged the racial status quo with a militancy that exceeded the bounds of white permissibility. Crusading journalism had a venerable heritage from the abolitionist press to Ida B. Wells' crusade against lynching. Prior to the twentieth century, however, race newspapers and magazines rarely gained sufficient national circulation and influence to attract the attention of whites. And although the more outspoken ones condemned American society and the government along with the racism they fostered, such viewpoints were not threatening on a national scale. But the early 1900s witnessed three significant changes in race journalism that laid the foundation not only for new roles and maturity for the press, but also for government surveillance and attempts at suppression

The *Chicago Defender*, founded in 1905, inaugurated yellow journalism within the black newspaper fraternity and proved the success of that format. By 1915 Robert S. Abbott's weekly enjoyed a national circulation, with particular influence in the South, and the reputation not only for dramatic headlines but hard-hitting criticism of racial abuses. Then the *Crisis*, the NAACP's official

publication founded in 1910 by W. E. B. DuBois, quickly gained a circulation of ten thousand within its first year and an even greater authority among educated blacks and some white liberals. By 1917 it was the most influential voice of militant black opinion and protest in the country. Third, World War I and the Great Migration of hundreds of thousands of blacks out of the South into northern industrial cities (the latter especially promoted by the *Defender*) spawned a dramatic ferment within the race. The "New Crowd Negro," a term coined by the radical *Messenger* magazine, was no longer willing to be circumspect in discussing lynching and discrimination, instead boldly demanding fundamental changes in America's racial patterns and complete freedom, including social equality, for African Americans. These three developments flowered and came to white attention at precisely the time when the nation experienced great peril. The war years of 1917-1918 brought widespread fears that America was not only engaged in a war of unprecedented proportions on Flanders' fields, but that the enemy was diligently working to subvert and undermine domestic opinions and institutions, especially targeting blacks. In such passionate times, a bold newspaper like the *Chicago Defender*, already known for vigorous denunciations of disfranchisement, segregation, and mob violence, already hated by white southerners for urging blacks to desert their sharecropper cabins for the jobs and relative freedoms of the North, would inevitably attract the attention of the federal government's fledgling domestic intelligence network.[1]

The *Chicago Defender* first came to the notice of the Bureau of Investigation (renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935) six months before America entered World War I, at a time when the collection of domestic intelligence was haphazard and without coordination between the various agencies engaged in that practice. Although not yet formally at war, Americans were poised to oppose Germany and had heard enough rumors to believe that her diplomats and agents were engaged in subversion. Believing that the nation was already at peril from "enemy aliens," the conclusion was too easily drawn that publications which challenged the racial status quo were either influenced by the enemy or unwittingly playing into its hands by raising issues the country could ill afford to deal with at this time.

Surveillance of the *Defender* began in the fall of 1916 when a reporter for the *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, probing allegations that the Chicago weekly was inciting blacks against whites, passed his suspicions on to the Bureau of Investigation. Whether out of professional duty or his own racial fears, the white newsman took out a subscription and uncovered the names of the paper's local distributors. Bureau agent Clifford G. Beckham agreed that the *Defender*'s contents were offensive; the 25 September issue contained an attack on President Wilson's approval of segregation and praise for Shreveport blacks who beat up an abusive white policeman. Grateful for the tip, Beckham promised the reporter a "scoop" should his own investigation prove fruitful.

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1. The birth of the *Defender* is charted in Roi Ottley, *The Lonely Warrior: The Life and Times of Robert S. Abbott* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1955); for the *Crisis*, see Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP: A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); for the origins and growth of the "New Crowd Negro" spirit, see Theodore Kornweibel Jr., *No Crystal Stair: Black Life and the Messenger, 1917-1928* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975).

Special Agent in Charge Forrest C. Pendleton concluded with Beckham that the *Defender* should be barred and gained the opinion of the U.S. attorney that federal laws likely had been broken, especially since the newspaper used the mail to reach many subscribers. Pendleton wrote Bureau headquarters that the articles tended to "incite murder" and proposed a thorough investigation to determine what federal statutes were being violated. In the meantime, the newsman rifled the desk of one distributor, pilfered a list of subscribers, and learned that he alone sold two thousand copies of the *Defender* each week. To assist a federal case the reporter also supplied his own subscription copy and mailing wrapper as evidence that the newspaper circulated through the mails. Despite these leads, Bureau of Investigation Chief A. Bruce Bielaski, preoccupied with the detection of alleged German spies, turned matters over to the post office inspector in New Orleans to determine if postal laws had been violated, a more likely course than pursuing penal code transgressions.[2]

Although nothing more came of this initial effort in the fall of 1916, the *Defender* would not be ignored after the United States declared war on Germany on 6 April 1917. Within days worried southerners began to inform the Bureau of their fears. White leaders in New Orleans charged the *Defender* with inciting blacks against them and wired their senators to that effect. A similar report from Pensacola claimed the newspaper printed "a lot of stuff against the white people," a view endorsed by the local Bureau agent who concluded that "this paper may prove to be the agency which is effective as a disturbing element among the negroes at this time." In Jacksonville another agent, reporting that two mass meetings to encourage northward migration had been prompted by the *Defender*, warned that some "pro-German" group might use it to create a home front distraction. And from Mississippi's delta region came another agent's frank prediction that, if the *Defender* inspired blacks to "rise up and take by force the liberty which the white people of the south were withholding from them," local whites – outnumbered 16 to 1 – would simply "murder or massacre the negros [sic] until the trouble is quieted."[3]

While the *Defender* was hardly an advocate of revolt, Emmett J. Scott, the black special assistant to the Secretary of War, recognized that it "voiced the unexpressed thoughts of many [southern blacks] and made accusations for which they themselves would have been severely handled." Two-thirds of its readership was outside Chicago, and its national edition was designed for southerners. Headlines in red ink condemned the South: "100 NEGROES MURDERED WEEKLY IN UNITED STATES BY WHITE AMERICANS." One lynching story was illustrated with a picture of the victim's decapitated head and the

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2. Special Agent C. G. Beckham to Bureau, 26 September 1916, 28 September 1916, Special Agent in Charge Forrest C. Pendleton to Bureau, 4 October 1916, 5 October 1916, 7 October 1916, Beckham to Bureau, 8 October 1916, 10 October 1916, Pendleton to Bureau, 12 October 1916, Beckham to Bureau, 14 October 1916, Chief A. Bruce Bielaski to Division Superintendent Hinton G. Clabaugh, 16 October 1916, "Miscellaneous Files" (hereafter misc) 9969, Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908-1922, Record Group 65, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Archives (hereafter RG65, BI, NA).

3. Pendleton to Bureau, 9 April 1917, special agent Edward S. Chastain to Bureau, 24 April 1917, "Old German Files" (hereafter OG) 5911, special agent A. W. Davis to Bureau, 16 April 1917, special agent R.S. Phifer to Bureau, 30 April 1917, OG3057, RG65, BI, NA.

caption: "NOT BELGIUM – AMERICA." Scott noted that the paper had a large circulation in Mississippi and usually sold out on the day of arrival. "Copies were passed around until worn out." A prominent Louisiana black claimed that "'negroes grab the *Defender* like a hungry mule grabs fodder.'" If every copy was read by several individuals, then weekly "readership" probably approached a million by the end of the war. No wonder, then, that several towns halted sales by confiscating copies from express or post offices. Two southern "agent- correspondents" were murdered, and at least a dozen others were forced to flee for their lives.[4]

Bureau Chief Bielaski was not about to ignore southern whites' alarmist reports about the *Defender*, particularly when a Mississippi senator endorsed allegations that the paper printed "seditious utterances." In the days immediately following America's plunge into war, fears of German subversion spread like wildfire. White southerners saw nothing illogical in concluding that German enemies would try to influence the allegedly "ignorant" black population. Regarding the charges against the *Defender* as serious, Bielaski ordered his Chicago office to begin an investigation only three days after America entered the war. Agent J. E. Hawkins focused on publisher Robert S. Abbott, describing him as "a coal black negro" and "somewhat of an egotist" who built the paper's circulation on sensational stories emphasizing the oppression of blacks by whites. According to Hawkins, the paper was "not in good standing" with the city's "better sort" of blacks. More damning – and utterly erroneous – was his allegation that the Hearst syndicate backed the *Defender*. Hearst publications were causing the government much heartburn for portraying the war as an economic conflict, criticizing President Wilson, championing the cause of Irish independence, and disparaging England. The *Defender* did employ yellow journalism techniques such as screaming headlines and sensational crime reporting but it had no connection at all with William Randolph Hearst's press empire.[5]

Editor Abbott first experienced direct pressure from the government on 13 April when he was summoned to the Bureau's Chicago office. Although probably aware that the government suspected his paper of encouraging disloyalty, he could not have known his interrogation was linked to alleged Mexican subversives in Chicago's Black Belt who, local agents feared, were attempting to weaken the war effort by fomenting racial antagonisms. Nor did he know that the Bureau was checking his credit rating. Under questioning, Abbott explained that he was founder and sole owner of the *Defender*, which was begun in 1906 on his kitchen table with twenty-five cents capital. Relating that he now sold sixty-seven thousand copies nationwide each week, he disavowed any connection with Hearst. Nor did he make apology for championing race causes, although acknowledging this was unsettling to some whites. But he stressed his patriotism, citing free advertising for recruitment appeals and editorial support for enlistment. Summarizing the interview, an agent concluded only that Abbott "may have overstepped the bounds of propriety" in his zeal to

4. Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration During the War* (c.1920; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1969), 29-33; Florette Henri, *Black Migration: Movement North 1900-1920* (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1976), 62-65.

5. Bielaski to Clabaugh, 9 April 1917, special agent J. E. Hawkins to Bureau, 16 April 1917, OG5911, RG65, BI, NA; H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War ,1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 94.

improve the race's standing. But despite the fact that there were no substantive grounds on which to suppress the paper or prosecute Abbott, Bureau headquarters in Washington nonetheless reasoned that the *Defender* was an extremely radical publication, even though subversion or disloyalty had not been proven.[6]

The next time the *Defender* suffered federal scrutiny, however, the government had a powerful weapon to use against it. The Espionage Act, which became law in June 1917, directed the Post Office Department to bar from the mails "any matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to any law of the United States." Even if only one issue was declared nonmailable, a periodical's second-class mailing permit could be revoked, which would likely prove "economically fatal" to a small publication. And an offending editor or publisher could be imprisoned for up to twenty years and fined $10,000. The Trading with the Enemy Act, passed in October, authorized, for the first time in American history, censorship of mail, cable, radio, and telegraph communications and gave the Postmaster General power to cripple offensive foreign-language newspapers. And in May 1918 Congress passed the Sedition Act, an amendment to the Espionage Act, now making it a crime to say or publish anything "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive" about the armed forces, flag, or government, or bring "contempt, scorn, contumely, or disrepute" on them.[7]

Complaints against the *Defender* continued to come from the South in the summer of 1917. The Arkansas Council of Defense informed the government that blacks' "hitherto respectful demeanor" had changed. German influence was upsetting the racial status quo and enticing agricultural workers to leave for the North. It was no coincidence that in many homes, previously well-behaved servants were now reading the *Defender* and exhibiting less servile behavior. Arkansas officials pled for suppression: "Whether this is a part of the German propaganda or not, no more insidious and ingenious plan could be adopted for crippling the South and its resources, as well as necessitating very comprehensive steps to be taken for domestic defense." Chief Bielaski forwarded this letter to his Chicago office, but it was the *Defender* of 4 August itself that led him to renew the investigation, particularly an article by Byron Gunner, president of the National Equal Rights League. It urged blacks to defend themselves against attacks by whites. Bielaski interpreted this claim to Second Amendment liberties as "sentiments which are decidedly in opposition to the Government at this time."[8] That blacks asserted their right to self defense in the summer of the East St. Louis riot is understandable; less comprehensible is Bielaski's view that such action, especially given the absence of government protection, was somehow un-American.

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6. Clabaugh to Bielaski, 16 April 1917, "Mexican Files" (hereafter MEX) 1651, Hawkins to Bureau, 16 April 1917, special agent P. E. Hilliard to Bureau, 17 April 1917, OG5911, R. L. D. to special agent R. S. Phifer, 8 May 1917, OG3057, RG65, BI, NA.

7. Patrick S. Washburn, *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 12-13; Harry N. Scheiber, *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960), 17-26.

8. D. Whipple to A. M. Briggs, 3 July 1917, Acting Div. Supt. Furbershaw to Bielaski, 10 July 1917, Bielaski to Clabaugh, 17 August 1917, OG5911, RG65, BI, NA.

The Bureau of Investigation was not alone in its fears concerning the *Defender*'s influence in the summer of 1917. The postmaster in Mobile alerted his superiors to Gunner's article and thought it was intended to incite riots or foment race hatred, either of which was "offensive to our government." Postal solicitor William H. Lamar, the department's chief legal officer whose responsibilities eventually included all postal provisions of the Espionage and Trading with the Enemy acts, had authority to recommend that publications be banned from the mails. He instructed Chicago's postmaster to forward copies of the *Defender* for scrutiny in Washington.[9]

Bureau of Investigation personnel in Chicago and elsewhere monitored the *Defender* through the fall of 1917. San Antonio agents complained that it was fomenting race troubles in Texas. In Tucson, on learning that many local blacks were reading the 8 December issue which graphically described a recent lynching, an unsophisticated agent wired the Chicago office that the *Defender*'s circulation was "apparently systematic" and the article in question "may be German propaganda." This prompted yet another investigation by Chicago agents who concluded testily that the lynching story was identical to what appeared in white dailies across the country. While noting that its circulation had grown to ninety-two thousand copies weekly, agent B. D. Adsit pronounced the paper "loyal to the core. . . . There is nowhere connected with it the slightest evidence of German influence."[10]

Department of Justice headquarters apparently agreed, in late 1917, that the *Defender* was innocuous compared to those publications which were actively opposing the war. Thus when complaints came from Columbus, New Mexico, that the *Defender* as well as the *Crisis* and *Baltimore Afro-American* were making black soldiers antagonistic towards whites, the Justice Department responded with less than full vigor. True, a U.S. attorney threatened the editor of the Baltimore weekly with "consequences," prompting quick agreement to keep his paper loyal and patriotic. The *Crisis* had to be dealt with more gingerly because of the NAACP's influential white leadership. And federal officers were plainly tired of watching the *Defender*. No new investigation resulted from the Columbus reports although the Bureau was aware of the great bitterness shared by members of the 24th Infantry stationed there. Thirteen of their comrades were executed for participation in the Houston riot in August 1917, after a hundred soldiers from the 24th seized arms and killed sixteen whites to avenge weeks of racist abuse by local whites, especially the police.[11] The Bureau also recognized Columbus whites' fears that black troops outnumbered white soldiers at the border garrison. Knowing that the black regulars received the three publications through the mails, the Justice Department responded correctly that barring them was a postal responsibility. The Bureau was willing to share information with

9. Postmaster J. Blocker Thornton to Postmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson, 28 August 1917, Postmaster, Chicago, to Solicitor William H. Lamar, 14 September 1917, case file B-47522, Espionage Act cases, Post Office Department, Record Group 28, National Archives (hereafter RG 28, PO, NA).

10. Special Agent in Charge Robert L. Barnes to Clabaugh, 19 September 1917, special agent H. B. Mock to Bureau, 28 December 1917, special agent B. D. Adsit to Bureau, 22 December 1917, OG5911, RG65, BI, NA.

11. Robert V. Haynes, *A Night of Violence: The Houston Riot of 1917* (Baton Rogue: Louisiana State University Press, 1976).

postal and military authorities but was not going to become directly involved in suppressing the *Defender* at this time.[12]

During 1918 the Post Office Department and the Military Intelligence Branch of the Army maintained the heaviest pressure on the *Defender*. Postal officials, wielding authority under the dangerously-broad Espionage, Sedition, and Trading with the Enemy acts, were particularly zealous in suppressing suspect periodicals. At the same time the Army rapidly expanded its "negative intelligence" capabilities to stifle alleged enemy influences within the United States. Millions of men were being prepared for combat in Europe, and nothing could be allowed to impede that effort. Disloyalty among civilians came under Army purview because such actions were likely to adversely affect military personnel as well. These two agencies cooperated with the Justice Department in policing the nation's press; by 1918 their relationships were regularized. Citizens sent complaints about publications to their senators and representatives, the Postmaster General, Attorney General, or the President. By early 1918 most of these charges were routinely forwarded to postal authorities. But Solicitor Lamar was preoccupied with suppressing allegedly disloyal foreign language publications and was not yet energized to pursue the *Defender*.[13]

Military intelligence was galvanized into action against the *Defender* in 1918, ironically, by a "Citizen's Committee of Patriotic Negro Citizens." They complained that the newspaper's attacks on the government would erode the race's loyalty. This obsequious petition went on to suggest that "a careful search into this paper and its methods might bring about a change and would no doubt benefit us colored folks as well as cease hurting the feelings of you who are white, and you to whom we owe our very existence." This appeal carried no date or indication of origin, although it likely came from a beleaguered southern black community where circulation of the newspaper had aroused the ire of local whites. How it reached the intelligence officer in the Army's Central Department is also unknown, but he acted diligently, gathering information from cooperative Bureau of Investigation agents in Chicago for transmission to his own headquarters.[14]

Colonel Ralph Van Deman, head of the Military Intelligence Branch, lost no time in ordering pursuit of editor Abbott. Van Deman accepted at face value every allegation in the Bureau's files, disregarding the fact that its agents discounted any subversion on the newspaper's part. He predicted that its alleged attacks on the government would lead to further erosion of patriotism among

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12. See case files 9-19-1713 and 189621, Department of Justice, Record Group 60, National Archives.

13. See, for example, the complaint registered by Bolton Smith, a prominent Memphis businessman and New South exponent: Bolton Smith to U.S. Attorney W. D. Kyser, 14 January 1918, Kyser to Postal Inspector in Charge T. M. Diskin, 23 January 1918, Diskin to Chief Postal Inspector, 29 January 1918, Chief Postal Inspector to Lamar, 6 February 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA; special agent A. D. Dabney to Bureau, 19 March 1918, OG159218, RG65, BI, NA. Another citizen complaint is recorded in Lamar to Elizabeth T. Price, 5 January 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.

14. Operative Leo Spitz to Colonel Carl Reichmann, 25 April 1918, case file 10218-133-1, Reichmann to Colonel Ralph Van Deman, Chief, Military Intelligence Branch, 29 April 1918, 10218-133-3, Record Group 165, Records of the Military Intelligence Division, National Archives (hereafter RG165, MID, NA).

blacks, concluding that the *Defender* was "undoubtedly disloyal in most of its utterances."[15] The Army lacked statutory authority to suppress publications, but might accomplish censorship through coercion. This was Van Deman's intent, and his weapon was retired Philippine Constabulary Major Walter H. Loving, MIB's most capable black investigator. Like others of the black elite, Loving was disturbed by widespread evidence that the masses were unenthusiastic about the war. These members of the "Talented Tenth" hoped to convince the rest of the race that if they fought loyally and practiced sacrifice and public patriotism on the home front, America would reward them with long-overdue rights and privileges.

Loving determined to force Abbott to adopt a more satisfactory editorial stance. Visiting the office of "the most dangerous of all Negro journals" in May 1918, he decided that threats would be more effective than appeals to patriotism. Nothing must stand in the way of speedy, massive mobilization. Germany's spring offensive was a desperate attempt to win the war before the arrival of large numbers of American troops would tip the balance. Delay at home could determine the outcome in France. Loving issued an ultimatum:

> Mr. Abbott has been told that he would be held strictly responsible and accountable for any article appearing in his paper in the future that would give rise to any apprehension on the part of the government. . . . I have . . . informed him officially that the eye of the government is centered upon his paper, and caution should be his guide.[16]

Abbott's long written reply the following day reflected a realization that no black paper had sufficient public support or white friends with which to forestall governmental suppression. He also knew that local authorities were even less likely to respect First Amendment freedoms and that private citizens acting on their own initiative were already interrupting local distribution in the South.[17] The beleaguered editor disclaimed all allegations of disloyalty, noting that he pledged $12,000 in the current Liberty Loan drive, money that had been set aside for a new press and building. In addition he had presented a regimental flag to the 365th Infantry, joined the speakers bureau of the Committee on Public Information, and provided space generously to advertise loan campaigns. In justifying the newspaper's editorial policies Abbott admitted its outspoken criticism of lynching but denied attacking the government. His staff had been instructed to avoid encouraging racial strife or disrespect for the laws, although Abbott believed the race's enemies were taking advantage of the times and position in which blacks found themselves. But Abbott recognized that the government, under pressure to catch spies and subversives, would tolerate no further suspicions of disloyalty: "I realize the peculiar situation in which the administration is placed, and am also aware that the slightest form of criticism will move them to action." In closing, he thanked Loving "for the interest you

15. Van Deman to Major Walter H. Loving, 3 May 1918, 10218-133-4, RG165, MID, NA.
16. Loving to Van Deman, 10 May 1918, 10218-133-5, RG165, MID, NA.
17. See, for example, the actions of whites in Griffin, Georgia, to suppress the *Defender*, recorded in case file 10218-160, RG165, MID, NA.

have shown in my behalf." Mission accomplished, Loving forwarded Abbott's letter to MIB headquarters, noting that "the tone of this reply is all that we can expect, if the writer lives up to it, and I shall endeavor and try to see that he does."[18] Van Deman could ask for nothing better from his loyal racial investigator. A month later, however, when he sought Loving's assistance in suppressing the *Crisis*, Loving found the idea repugnant and evaded Van Deman's order.[19]

The Military Intelligence Branch utilized both a carrot and a stick to ensure the black press's patriotism. The former means of persuasion reflected the joint efforts of Major Joel E. Spingarn and Emmett J. Scott, a special assistant to the Secretary of War and the highest-placed black in the War Department. Scott's job included fielding complaints from black soldiers as well as working to ensure the better morale of blacks in and out of the service. Spingarn, the white chairman of the NAACP Board of Directors, briefly worked for MIB's "negro subversion" unit. He was aware of "constant" complaints from military officers that the black press, including the *Defender*, was spreading "disaffection." Anxious to stimulate positive morale, the two organized a conference, co-sponsored by the Committee on Public Information, to let black editors and other public figures air their race's grievances and, more importantly, solicit their assistance in improving black morale. Forty-one leaders met in Washington from 19-21 June; Robert S. Abbott was among the thirty-one editors present. All agreed that unrest was widespread among blacks, with lynching the number one cause, although Red Cross refusal to enroll black nurses, federal unwillingness to hire black civil servants, and Jim Crow conditions on the government-controlled railroads were also important grievances. The assembly adopted resolutions, actually written by *Crisis* editor W. E. B. DuBois, demanding an immediate end to lynching but otherwise stressing the editors' loyalty and willingness to suspend much of the race's agenda while the war was on. Spingarn was pleased that nearly all the editors' grievances could be met "without any fundamental social readjustments."[20] The conference resolutions were nearly as abject a surrender of the black agenda as DuBois' "Close Ranks" editorial in the July *Crisis*.[21] Abbott's participation amounted to a public profession of loyalty, and for the remainder of the war the military had no complaint against the *Defender*. But success in tempering the newspaper's militancy was not due entirely to its own efforts. Renewed pressure from the Bureau of Investigation and naked coercion from the Post Office Department also helped convince Abbott to publish with much more circumspection. Local threats likewise influenced the beleagured editor. After running an editorial cartoon depicting black troops being shot in the back by white American soldiers on the battlefield, Abbott was threated with jail, a fate

18. Robert S. Abbott to Loving, 11 May 1918, 10218-133-6, Loving to Van Deman, 20 May 1918, 10218-133-7, RG165, MID, NA.
19. Loving to Captain Henry Hunt, 23 May 1918, 10218-139-10, Loving to Van Deman, 30 May 1918, 10218-139-14, RG165, MID, NA.
20. Colonel Marlborough Churchill, Chief, MIB, to Major Joel E. Spingarn, 22 June 1918, 10218-154-14, Churchill to Chief of Staff, 2 July 1918, 10218-154-15, RG165, MID, NA; *Indianapolis Freeman*, 20 July 1918.
21. See Mark Ellis, "'Closing Ranks' and 'Seeking Honors': W. E. B. DuBois in World War I," *Journal of American History* 79 (June 1992), 96-124.

he avoided by personally purchasing Liberty Bonds and promoting their sale in the *Defender*.[22]

Bureau headquarters in Washington continued to field complaints about the *Defender* from both private citizens, including those enrolled in the super-patriotic American Protective League, and its own personnel in the field. Twice in May 1918 agent E. J. Kerwin submitted copies from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, warning that its artfully worded contents only partly disguised attempts to "beget hatred and an inner feeling of getting even" on the part of blacks. Members of the race no longer seemed to be dutifully following whites' views of the war. Particularly dangerous was the paper's effect on the more "ignorant" members of the race; by this Kerwin did not mean illiterates, but those, quoting Alexander Pope, for whom "'a little learning is a dangerous thing.'" Once again Chief Bielaski burdened the Chicago office with another investigation; once again there was nothing startling to report except that circulation had jumped to 120,000.[23] Having no damning evidence, the Justice Department was unwilling to exert the kind of coercion employed by Army intelligence, and took no formal action against the *Defender*. Why? Perhaps it was content to rely on Loving's "persuasion" and Abbott's promises, having learned of them at one of the weekly conferences where the various intelligence chiefs met with Bielaski.[24] And quite possibly Justice Department attorneys read the *Defender*'s more cautious tone after May as sufficient evidence of change.

Postal officials ultimately played the decisive role in forcing the *Defender* to trim its editorial sails more to the liking of the government. A sudden rush of pressure in mid-1918 could neither be ignored nor misunderstood. Events began when the postmaster of Denison, Texas, sent the issue of 8 June to Alabama-born Solicitor William H. Lamar. What inspired his outrage was the front page story, "Southern Stunts Surpass Hun," denouncing an inconceivably barbaric lynching in which a white mob tied its black victim to railroad tracks where a speeding train decapitated him. Incredibly, the postmaster interpreted this article as "rank race hatred which shows the signs of German conspiracy. . . . It is precisely this form of public print that stirs in the negro's revolutionary mind not only the seditious thought but the seditious act," inflaming black against white when the two ought to be linked in mutual patriotic endeavor. Pending Lamar's decision the local postmaster withheld all

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22. Lee Finkle, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press During World War II* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairlaigh Dickinson University Press, 1975), 46.

23. Special agent E. J. Kerwin to Bielaski, 2 May 1918, 9 May 1918, special agent Adsit to Bureau, 24 May 1918, Bielaski to R. E. Baily, 3 July 1918, American Protective League operative 36 to Headquarters, 24 September 1918, APL National Director C. F. Lorenzen to Bielaski, 1 October 1918, 3 October 1918, OG5911, RG65, BI, NA.

24. Coordination of intelligence work was instituted in the summer of 1917 when representatives from the War, Navy, and State departments met at the Justice Department to discuss cases and allocate investigative responsibilities. The evolution of this process can be traced in William Gibbs McAdoo to Newton D. Baker, 9 July 1917, McAdoo to Woodrow Wilson, 9 July 1917, Thomas Callaghan to W.J. Flynn, 29 June 1917, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Colonel Claud E. Stadtman and Captain Carmelo J. Bernado, *History of the War Department Military Intelligence Activities 1885-1920* (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, n.d.), chap. VI, 14-17.

copies from delivery. One of the solicitor's staff attorneys, Charles E. Boles, drafted the memorandum which would guide policy toward the *Defender*:

> This issue is a fair sample of many issues of this publication and all other negro publications published in various parts of the country which have been brought to the attention of this office. Most of them play up in startling head lines all reports of violence against negroes at the hands of the Southerners and other whites. In the narratives the publications rarely, if ever, mention the provications [sic] furnished by the victims and if such provications are mentioned they are usually discredited. The victim is always characterized as an innocent victim of race prejudice or race hatred. Such articles can have but one effect on the negro and that is to cause him to hate the whites and the "white man's government." Any good that might be accomplished by matter of a loyal nature carried in these papers, is offset by this rotten race-hatred breeding stuff. The fomenting of race hatred among the negroes at this time is extremely unfortunate and flavors strongly of German propaganda.[25]

This quotation shows why the federal government, and many white Americans, had such difficulty understanding the true nature of black discontent during World War I and the postwar Red Scare. What they viewed as promotion of race hatred would have been described by black editors as the righteous exposure of racial injustice. But to most whites, criticism of their behavior by the black press was no less than racial antipathy. And too many whites, searching for comforting explanations for discomfiting events, fell back on the old "outside agitator" bogeyman, this time not blaming northern abolitionists or carpetbaggers for racial unrest, but "German propagandists."

To force the *Defender* into line, Boles drafted a letter for Solicitor Lamar to send to Abbott which charged that the "Southern Stunts Surpass Hun" story incited race hatred and was a "possible" violation of the Espionage Act. Lamar admitted that this one article alone was not sufficient to warrant exclusion of the issue of 8 June from the mail; in fact, copies to destinations other than Denison had by that time already been delivered. Lamar warned Abbott to consider the "possible bad effect of this matter and . . . its possible interference with the Government's war program." Exaggerated attention to mob violence was preventing interracial goodwill, suggested Lamar:

> Anything that tends to destroy this harmony and to cause friction between the two races, and that tends to create in the minds of members of your race the idea that they have no part in the struggle against the Imperial German Government and that they are being just as badly treated by the whites of America as they would be treated by the whites of Germany tends to interfere with the cause of the United States in the war

25. Charles E. Boles to Lamar, 13 June 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.

> against Germany and should have no place in a loyal newspaper.

While concluding that he did not doubt Abbott's loyalty, Lamar pointedly stated his expectation that the black editor would perform his proper patriotic duty.[26]

Other complaints against this and subsequent issues came to the Post Office Department, including a petition from residents of Madison County, Mississippi, with an endorsement by their influential senator, John Sharp Williams, charging the *Defender* with spreading lies and stirring up race trouble.[27] From July on all complaints against the newspaper were routed to the Translation Bureau, a special section of the New York post office established to review foreign-language publications for mailability under provisions of the Trading With the Enemy and Espionage acts; this office eventually expanded its purview to English-language periodicals, including thirteen published by African Americans.[28] Its staff entertained some of the wildest racial fears and fantasies of any federal bureaucrats during the war. Had their recommendations to deny use of the mails to the *Defender* and other black publications been implemented, draconian violation of the First Amendment would have resulted. The Translation Bureau found an article in the 1 June *Defender* objectionable simply because it encouraged black emigration from the South where its labor was allegedly most needed. The 22 June issue seemed equally pernicious because race prejudice – meaning only black versus white, not the reverse – could be aroused by its contents. The censors urged that both issues be declared nonmailable.[29]

For the remainder of the summer the *Defender* was scrutinized closely by the Translation Bureau. The 20 July edition was noteworthy for attempts to "rub in the germs of dissatisfaction." Although Roger A. Bowen, who headed the office, found nothing illegal in the next week's issue, he discovered "plenty of evidence of an obstreperous negro spirit that is not the best way about for the negro to help to settle his 'problem.'" The editorial page contained "several of the usual incitements to race feeling." Bowen, apparently an Anglophile, complained that blacks were like the Irish, "always emphasizing their grievances and making grievances where they might evade them." Yet the Irish comparison was not to be taken too far, warned Bowen: "does it never occur to the negro . . . that there would be a source of independent strength to him if he were willing to be himself and not ape the white man?"[30]

The Translation Bureau found even worse in the 17 August issue:

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26. Lamar to Abbott, 13 June 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.
27. Postmaster M.E. Nash to Lamar, 22 June 1918, Senator John Sharp Williams to Burleson, 22 June 1918, Burleson to Williams, 11 July 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.
28. Robert A. Hill, ed., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers* I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 453, nl, lists the thirteen suspect publications: the *Defender, Negro World, AME Zion Quarterly Review, Baltimore Afro-American, New York Amsterdam News, Boston Guardian, Challenge, Crisis, Messenger, New York Age, New York News, Pittsburgh Courier,* and *Veteran.*
29. Memorandum, Translation Bureau, 6 July 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.
30. How to U.S. Assistant District Attorney, 26 July 1918, Robert A. Bowen to U. S. Assistant District Attorney, 26 July 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.

> This volent negro paper not only put the attaining of their own objects, that is to say treatment which includes their being allowed to mix as freely as they choose among the white people, ahead of the winning of the war, but they apparently put this object ahead even of the safety of their own race. Surely they must realize that by the constant stirring up of the fires of race prejudice they are doing what is in their power to make lynching more, rather than less, frequent. Surely the frequency of lynching interferes with the war and thus, take it as you will, from whatever point of view, these papers are objectionists.

The following week's edition was also charged with fostering race hatred, while the last paper of the month featured editorials which, it was believed, would make blacks more sensitive to mistreatment and thus provoke even more bitter feeling between the two races. The Translation Bureau's logic was neatly circular and absolved whites of responsibility for racial violence, instead "blaming the victim" by putting responsibility on blacks for their own lynching.[31]

Abruptly, in September 1918, the Post Office, Military Intelligence Division, and Bureau of Investigation suspended close scrutiny of the *Defender*. The explanation is simple: Numerous "visits" to the newspaper's office by Bureau agents, bald threats from the War Department, delay in mail deliveries, and threatening letters from postal censors had all made their point. Only doggedly persistent radical publications, which were not for profit business ventures and were subsidized by political donations, braved such pressures without altering editorial policy. The *Defender* was Robert Abbott's livelihood, begun on his kitchen table in 1906 and still published out of his apartment in 1918. Prudence required discretion. Cooperation was even better, such as Abbott's increasing demonstrations of patriotism and his decision in October to forward a black recruit's complaint of mistreatment to the Army rather than publish it in the paper.[32] Other black editors were charting a similar course. The *Defender* refused to abdicate its principles and continued to promote northward migration, criticize lynching and other injustices, and upbraid government officials who failed to deal fairly with the race. But it spoke in more temperate tones. The federal intelligence system had accomplished its goal.

In the six months after the Armistice, investigators in all three federal agencies resumed critical interest in the *Chicago Defender*.[33] Since World War I was not officially ended until a peace treaty was signed in 1921, wartime emergency legislation remained technically in force. Solicitor Lamar hoped to continue use of the Espionage Act against the radical press, and included the *Defender* in that category. The Bureau of Investigation made a quick transition from focusing on German subversion to investigating alleged threats of

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31. L. How to U.S. Assistant District Attorney, 16 August 1918, 26 August 1918, 2 September 1918, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA.

32. For this cooperation see case file 10605, RG165, MID, NA.

33. The *Defender*'s post-war troubles with the Justice Department are narrated in detail in the author's forthcoming *Federal Injustice: The Red Scare Campaigns Against Black Militancy ,1918-1925* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).

communism. Any militant black publication, even the *Defender*, was suspected of Bolshevik leanings or advocacy. And Army intelligence, angered that Robert Abbott had reneged on his "promise" not to print anything "inflammatory," began to investigate his political associations and stole a copy of the subscription list.[34]

A wave of racial violence in the "Red Summer" of 1919 increased federal hostility toward the *Chicago Defender*. Southern whites blamed it for inciting the riot in Longview, Texas, and while individual postmasters halted local mail delivery, Lamar's office came close to declaring the weekly unmailable. The most destructive riot occurred in Chicago, and when Bureau agents found no evidence of instigation by outside radical agitators they blamed local factors, including the *Defender*'s "decidedly rabid" articles. And following the Phillips County, Arkansas, "riots," local whites laid part of the blame on Abbott's newspaper, resulting in further interdiction of mailed copies.[35] Prompted by these and other tumultuous Red Scare events, the Bureau of Investigation created an anti-radical section, called the General Intelligence Division, to suppress or prosecute dangerous individuals, organizations, and publications. Headed by young J. Edgar Hoover, the GID collected voluminous data on black periodicals, including the *Defender*, but failed to convince federal prosecutors that a case could be won against even the most militant of the lot, the socialist *Messenger*.[36]

The Military Intelligence Division lacked statutory authority to investigate civilian activities after the war. The Post Office's power rested on

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34. Burleson to Lamar, 25 June 1921, quoted in Maryland War Service Record of William H. Lamar, RG28, Office of the Solicitor, Official Records of William H. Lamar, NA; Major Thomas B. Crockett to Churchill, 27 March 1919, 10218-133-14, 6 June 1919, 10218-133-20, operative Charles Furthmann to Department Intelligence Officer, 3 June 1919, 10218-133-19, Crockett to Churchill, 11 August 1919, 10218-133-16, RG165, MID, NA.

35. For reactions to the Longview riot, see Kellogg, 236; Representative William D. Upshaw to First Assistant Postmaster General J.C. Koons, 2 July 1919, Sheriff T.R. Hughes to Senator Joseph E. Ransdell, 21 July 1919, 16 August 1919, Ransdell to Burleson, 21 August 1919, Postmaster H.C. Blalock to Acting Third Assistant Postmaster General H.J. Barron, 17 July 1919, B-349, RG28, PO, NA; W.H. Rossman to Lamar, 28 June 1919, Lamar to Rossman, 8 July 1919, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA. Analysis of the Chicago riot is in special agent M. Kitchen to Bureau, 2 August 1919, special agent A.H. Loula to Bureau, 2 August 1919, OG369914, RG65, BI, NA. The Phillips County affair is seen in Governor Charles E. Brough to Burleson, 17 October 1919, Brough to Acting Solicitor H.L. Donnelly, 4 November 1919, Committee in Charge of Race Relations to Postmaster W.L. Jarman, 9 October 1919, Jarman to Koons, 10 October 1919, G. Wells to Hon. Joe T. Robinson, 7 October 1919, Donnelly to Chief Postal Inspector, 10 October 1919, Koons to James A. Horton, 10 October 1919, Donnelly to Jarman, 18 October 1919, Donnelly to Brough, 27 October 1919, Lamar to Brough, 26 November 1919, B-349, Postmaster G.C. Thompson to Lamar, 21 October 1919, B-47522, RG28, PO, NA. For background on the Phillips County riot, see Kellogg, 241-45.

36. For details on the GID, see Max Lowenthal, *The Federal Bureau of Investigation* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1950) and three recent biographies: Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Free Press, 1987); Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); and Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991).

the Espionage Act, but public opinion was leery of that department having a formal postwar role in suppressing "radicalism." The Justice Department retained undisputed authority to deal with such threats, but when staff attorneys judged that successful prosecution could not be maintained against a genuinely radical publication like the *Messenger*, any hope of muzzling Abbott's weekly disappeared. Nonetheless, the Bureau of Investigation and Army intelligence continued to monitor the newspaper into the early 1920s, regarding it as a threat to the white-dictated racial status quo.

The federal political intelligence system born during World War I reached maturity during the Red Scare. Among its initial premises was the fear that militant black journalism posed a threat to national security. During the war the *Defender* and the NAACP's *Crisis* were criticized and pressured because they dared to print the truth about American racism at a time when a united effort against both foreign and domestic enemies was demanded of all Americans. In addition, many whites took advantage of wartime passions and prejudices to denounce blacks' protests against injustice as "anti-white," thus legitimizing opposition to any racial improvement. Beset on all sides, editor Robert S. Abbott had no choice if his newspaper was to survive. Either he had to moderate its tone, or suffer repression through prosecution or a mail ban, or both. And when images of sedition did not die once the war ended, the *Chicago Defender* continued to be viewed by worried guardians of the racial status quo as a dangerously militant voice of a race in ferment.

The author is a professor in the Department of Africana Studies at San Diego State University. This article is based on a paper delivered at the 1993 convention of the American Journalism Historians Association which won the William Snorgrass Award as the best research on minority journalism.

Research Notes

The Little Echo That Roared

by Fenwick Anderson

Hardly anyone remembers it, but a short-lived Hartford daily played a pioneering role in modern newspaper technology and design a half-century ago.

The obscurity was so complete that *The Arizona Journal* of Phoenix boasted in the early 1960s that it was the world's first metropolitan daily to use offset printing. That was two decades after *Hartford Newsdaily*, a five-column tabloid, appeared six times a week, beginning 4 March 1940.

The previous year, a half-dozen journalists, none older than thirty (their average age was twenty-seven), laid plans for a paper that would combine aspects of *Time* and *Life* magazines in a daily newspaper. A prescient observer in the business press labeled the idea "revolutionary – so different in fact that whether it booms or fizzles it may very well mark a step in the evolution of the daily press."[1]

Editor Bice Clemow, drawn to offset as a way to use lots of pictures without the expense of making engravings, suggested to manufactures that, in so many words, "one outstanding success with a lithographed paper would mean the end of their sales problem." Consequently, Webendorfer took an order for presses without any down payment, and other manufacturers, such as Mergenthaler Linotype, cooperated in the experiment.[2]

One reason Hartford was chosen was that Webendorfer, headquartered in Mount Vernon, New York, could service its equipment only within a travel radius of two to three hours. That was crucial at first because the webbing reportedly broke often.[3] Another suggestion was that because "several of the boys come from well-to-do Hartford families," it was an obvious choice as a fundraising center.[4]

A *Hartford Courant* editorial welcoming the infant said that the *Newsdaily* format might conceivably "set the style for the

1. "Can Daily Paper Be Lithographed?", *Business Week*, 2 December 1939, 24.

2. Ibid., 24-5. About twenty offset newspapers already existed, but most were either weeklies or dailies so tiny that they resembled typewritten copy. The *Newsdaily*, by contrast, offered "a competent proving ground" for daily lithography. Like many newspapers that switched to offset later, the *Newsdaily* used traditional hot-type composition.

3. Bice Clemow, "Transradio Serves the World's First Offset Daily Newspaper," in Herbert Moore & Associates, *More News After This ...The Untold Story of Transradio Press* (Warrenton, Va.: Sun Dial Press, 1983, 82. Transradio, which also served established dailies in Miami, Baltimore, Chicago, and other other major cities as a supplemental news source, deserves both more credit than standard journalism histories give it and further scholarly research. Despite its scrapbook format, this privately printed account offers a fascinating introduction.

4. "Can Daily Paper Be Lithographed?", 26. *Business Week*, a rival of Henry Luce's *Fortune*, denied as "without foundation" rumors of any financial stake by Luce.

papers of the future," although it remained dubious. In any case the morning newspaper mused, "the new paper provides an extraordinarily interesting experiment in modern journalism," and it was the first time in two decades that the city had two evening dailies.[5] The existing evening paper, *The Hartford Times*, agreed:

> They rightly say that their paper blazes a new trail. It is the pioneer in entirely different methods applied to daily newspaper publishing. Hartford will observe with interest what they are doing, newspaper men the nation over will watch with keen attention.[6]

Aside from offset, the *Newsdaily* tried a number of devices now commonplace. It presented a two-column index to the news, called Newsglance, on the front page, and highly compartmentalized treatment inside. There was no editorial page as such. Instead, pithy comments were inserted on the news pages. One on page 7 of the first issue declared that the editors were spokesmen for nobody else politically and intended to report events "with violent independence." They expected to speak strongly on issues, "but these opinions will not be manufactured for us."

Clemow turned thirty that year. His resume included the Associated Press, *Editor & Publisher*, and *Time*, where he spent a year as a departmental editor.[7] Now retired from the Imprint weeklies in the Hartford area, he recalled that concepts such as the tiny editorials were devised during the gestation period of eighteen to twenty-four months. He believed that "this format would free young reporters with advocacy instincts,..." because they could write the facts objectively, then express their opinions. Clemow also reserved the right to add his own comments. "I still think that system would double the reading of edits, make them more succinct," he wrote.[8] Perhaps in an effort to establish a dialogue with readers, most letters to the editor carried bold-faced replies.

Wire news was credited to Transradio Press Service. As its name implied, Transradio came into existence to serve the news needs of radio when major wire services tried to freeze it out. Wire photos came from the *New York Times*'s Wide World Photos. *Times* publisher Arthur Hays Sulzburger made them available, Clemow said, because the existing dailies had tied up other photo services.[9]

A house ad reviewing the first week of publication claimed that the *Newsdaily* had run 482 stories

5. "Hartford's Newest Newspaper," *Hartford Courant*, 5 March , 6. All newspaper references are from the year 1940.

6. "The New Paper," *Hartford Times*, 5 March, 14. *Business Week* pointed out that the *Newsdaily* was taking on two tough competitors; the *Times* had a circulation of some 65,000, the *Courant* above 40,000.

7. "Can Daily Paper Be Lithographed?," 24.

8. Clemow's written responses to questions, received 29 June 1987.

9. Clemow, 84.

and 220 pieces of art. A few photos appeared dim or washed out, despite offset's reproductive virtues, but others were arresting, such as a full-page picture of a crippled child swinging at a playground, leg brace and all. The photos ranged from realistic scenes of slum life to closeups of insects. The paper bragged that the high quality of its newsprint significantly surpassed ordinary paper; surviving copies remain in amazingly good condition.

To reader suggestions of a competitive three-cent newsstand price, instead of the *Newsdaily*'s nickel, the editors replied on the back page April 6 that "Sausage can be sold by the yard, news gets its value from sense, meaning, interest and concentration." This made a virtue of necessity. Issues were limited to sixteen pages, Clemow recalled, because the $17,500 spent for the press and folding machine "was all the press capacity we could afford .... Furthermore, we thought of ourself as a *Time/Life* daily (modestly!) and we felt comfortable with a magazine look."[10]

The Luce connection was more direct than that. Clemow wrote that *Time* provided circulation and ad sales information about several nearby cities, such as New Haven and Danbury. Hartford's status as both state capital and national insurance capital gave its economy the most stability. Furthermore, the paper's distinctive format was created by *Fortune* art director Eleanor Treacy. Clemow had worked at *Time* when Life premiered in 1936, "and it seemed to me that this presaged a new era in daily photo-journalism."[11]

Clemow remembered raising $75,000 to begin publication, with $5,000 the largest pledge. "That seems totally inadequate and maybe it was," he said, "but it was a lot at the time." Newsdailies, Inc., then set up shop in an empty auto showroom and garage. The building was owned by one Doc Naylor, who declined to buy any stock in the enterprise, but traded two years' rent for some.[12] "The quite secure dailies were bemused and impressed only with the names on our board of directors," Clemow said.[13]

The financial theory was that if the staff sold four pages of advertising an issue and attained a paid circulation of 20,000 to 25,000, Clemow said, "we could have been reader-supported. Or so we thought."[14] Unfortunately, the *Newsdaily* had trouble selling even that planned 25 percent advertising. For one thing, the city's leading advertiser, G. Fox, took a stern stance toward the newcomer. Department store owner Beatrice Fox Auderbach told the advertising manager that she would be happy to buy space at half-price. This posed quite a dilemma for the young editor: "She was an incredible economic force, and she had used it on suppliers, some said ruthlessly," Clemow said. "I had thought of the newspaper-of-tomorrow as independent as it could be of advertiser pressure." He turned

10. Clemow's responses.

11. Clemow, 84. Hartford's center-city population was higher then, too, with 1940 census figures showing 166,267 residents.
12. Ibid., 83.
13. Clemow's responses.
14. Ibid.

her down, but later regretted how dependent readership was on a heavy volume of retail ads. Consequently, the paper never exceeded the 13,000 copies sold on the first day.[15]

In its three-month life, isolationism seemed its main editorial crusade. This was implicit in an 18 May front page filled mostly with a photo of a French mother and son killed in an air raid; the headline read "The War Is Over." A three-column editorial made the point more explicitly, saying it was too late for peace in Europe but that:

> It is never too late to pray that this nation does not once more become a hip-hip-hooray blood donor to an ungrateful, quarrelsome Europe. The greatest contribution we can make to all men is to have the moral courage, the military might and the diplomatic agility to stay out of futile wars that are none of our doing.[16]

In a similar vein, a 23 May front-page comment responded to a congressional attack on aviator Charles Lindbergh's isolationism that "Lindbergh may be wrong but that doesn't make him an agent of Hitler." It denounced smears of critics as fifth-columnists, assaults that probably hit too close to home. The editors were young enough that they were subject to any draft and may have written out of enlightened self-interest. Some of the "patrician" directors doubted their objectivity on this issue.[17]

A double-sized 89th issue of the *Newsdaily* on June 14 sported a front-page announcement of "A Summer Vacation." It asserted that "During the past six weeks the terror of lightning warfare has violently disturbed the tempo of newspaper publishing, even of life itself." The paper said it would cease publication until the beginning of September. "We pray for a Fall of peace," it added. Peace took a long time returning, unfortunately, and the *Newsdaily* never did.

A *New York Post* cartoon declaring "Wuxtra! Wuxtra! Newspaper folds because there was too much news" contained an element of truth. Beyond the *Newsdaily's* financial problems, it was originally designed in a carefully orchestrated way. As the war in Europe heated up, however, Clemow wrote later, "Readers hungered for every chaotic flash from the front, however undigested. Eleanor Treacy's quiet front-page make-up had given way to bold headlines and big war maps!" Indeed, the front-page index was narrowed, then moved to the back page, and finally vanished entirely to permit bigger display of dramatic war news. The war also threatened the supply of raw materials, such as newsprint and photographic

15. Clemow, 84.

16. "A Crying Need for Cool Judgement," *Newsdaily*, 20 May 1940, 1. Earlier editorials, as in a response to an FDR sppech, took a basically isolationist tack while occasionally urging preparedness.

17. Clemow, 85. Staff members could look backward to the colossal carnage of the Great War, but they could not foresee Pearl Harbor. Many Americans took such a position in 1940, only to repudiate it by the end of 1941.

chemicals, needed to print all this news.[18]

"Even great newspapers, like titanic liners, go under with only momentary slick," Clemow said. "A leaky little bark like the *Newsdaily* left no ripple. Paris had fallen and we with it." Nevertheless, he concluded even in hindsight that, "We *were* young, but, hopefully, thoughtful. We were not radically out of step with the mood in 1940."[19]

Older and supposedly wiser journalistic heads pretended to some amusement over the *Newsdaily* hiatus. The *Courant* chortled about how nice vacations were. It hoped that the editors would develop solutions to vexing problems, and speculated that such breaks in publication could prove relaxing for readers. It suggested that "Those who have come to rely exclusively on the *Newsdaily* ... may be spared no end of anguish now that they will not be privileged to read it again until autumn is almost here." A recapitulation of the summer's news might make events appear less worrisome in retrospect, it added.[20]

Although the paper's prospects looked grim in June 1940, Clemow recalled that the immediate future was so uncertain financially that it precluded an out-and-out statement of closure. "We announced what we honestly thought," he said,[21] but fall brought no subsequent announcement that the *Newsdaily* had perished.

Even without the war, the paper's prospects were dubious because its premise was ambivalent, Clemow concluded later. "Our schizoid premise was that readers would find the paper an acceptable substitute for the *Times* and/or the *Courant* OR (and here's the sticky wicket) an acceptable and valuable complement to another daily paper," he said. A sharper editorial focus and market testing were needed before trying such an experiment.[22]

> I was to discover to my sorrow that somewhere between the dream in the minds of its originators and the sales pitch of the boys who were hired to solicit circulation, all of the fire and much of the intended sense of the *Newsdaily* was lost.[23]

He labeled the paper a technological success, however. Even before publication started, Clemow had addressed the American Newspaper Publishers Association about his dreams for the newspaper of the future. In the audience was Bill Mapel, who later helped prepare Long Island's *Newsday*. "Only that echo is left from the first web offset daily newspaper in the world," Clemow lamented.[24] Yet the changing face

18. Ibid., 84-5.
19. Clemow's responses.
20. "The *Newsdaily* Sets an Example," *Hartford Courant*, 16 June 1940, 2.
21. Clemow's responses.
22. Clemow, "Why Did the *Hartford Newsdaily* Fail?" in Moore, 85.
23. Clemow, "Transradio," 84-5.
24. Ibid., 85. A final postscript to the *Newsdaily*'s short life was written by Transradio President Herbert Moore, a stockholder, who purchased the press after its demise. In 1942, he used it to publish anonymously 250,000 copies of a

of daily newspapers, notably *USA Today*, makes the little *Newsdaily*'s echo sound more like a roar.

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paperback describing the links between Standard Oil and the German financial giant I.G. Farben. (Moore, "A Man Called Intrepid," 107.) Thus the ghost of the *Newsdaily* fought on the homefront once America entered the war.

American Journalism Book Reviews

Thomas Connery, University of St. Thomas, Editor

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Carol Armbruster, ***Publishing and Readership in Revolutionary France and America: A Symposium at the Library of Congress, Sponsored by the Center for the Book and the European Division.*** Beta Phi Mu Monograph Series, No. 4, Wayne Wiegand, Series Editor. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993. 215 pp. Cloth, $45.

Since the 1950s the idea that the late eighteenth-century revolutions in the West should be understood in an international rather than rigidly national perspective has gained in appeal among both American and French historians. Similarly, the idea that they can be understood in cultural as well as political terms has gained in acceptance. Some historians even speak of the Revolution being driven by a deeper cultural revolution. The present volume addresses and supports both of these ideas.

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the twelve essays contained in the book. They represent the published proceedings of a Library of Congress symposium, and each is competently done when considered on its own merits. Several of the essays hold particular interest for journalism historians: Larzer Ziff's "A Silent Revolution: Benjamin Franklin and Print Culture," Carla Hesses's "The Dilemmas of Republican Publishing, 1793-1799," James Gilreath's "Government, Law, Public Opinion, and the Printed Word in Eighteenth-Century America," David Hull's "The Politics of Writing and Reading in Eighteenth-Century America," and Michael Warner's "Publication and the Public Sphere." Lynn Hunt's "Male and Female: Words and Images in the French Revolution" concentrates mainly on France, but it also advances some engaging comparison of the use of words in revolutions significant for historians on both sides of the Atlantic. The other six essays, however, will appeal to readers with a special interest in printing, publishing, copyright systems, book collecting, and book marketing.

A number of common themes appear in several of the essays. Most apparent is the contention that the print medium only becomes intelligible when considered in its cultural and political contest. Several of the authors underscore the significance of the decline of religious content in publications during the revolutionary era. One of the most interesting points that appears throughout the essays is that no new technological developments occurred during the period. The changes in the media were cultural. Readers will also find that several essays enhance understanding of freedom of the press and the relationship of printing and public opinion so relevant to media studies.

There is reason, however, to question the general value of the volume. The essays are uneven in terms of scope – some relate naturally to broad historical themes while others are more esoteric. This reviewer was also disappointed that more of an effort was not made to establish the trans-Atlantic character of the aspects of media under study. Several of the essays are strictly national on focus despite the editor's introductory claim that "communication in the medium of print between France and colonial and early republican America was a vital factor in the events within each country as well as between them." (IX) Finally, it is unfortunate that the volume was not expanded to include essays on the media in Britain. Revolutionary currents were present there too, especially in the case of Ireland. The references that several of the essayists made to the influence of the *London Spectator* serve as a reminder of the significant input made by British journalism to the changing relationship of the

print media to the wider eighteenth-century political culture. Finally, a greater integration of subject matter among the essays would be appreciated.

The shortcomings will limit the appeal of the book for journalism historians in general. Yet, its merits are considerable, and it deserves a place in libraries with a strength in media history.

James D. Startt, Valparais University

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Gary Dean Best. ***The Critical Press and the New Deal: The Press Versus Presidential Power, 1933-1938.*** Westport, Conn.: Praeger Press, 1993. 216 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was kept from imposing a dictatorship on the United States on the 1930s by a heroic "critical press" that kept a political opposition alive, according to historian Gary Dean Best. Best, who has written widely on Herbert Hoover and the New Deal period, challenges both the liberal historiography of praise for FDR and the corresponding assumption in journalism history that newspaper opposition to FDR was limited to reactionary "press lords" such as Robert McCormick and William Randolph Hearst.

Instead, Best argues, press opposition to Roosevelt was thoughtful, principled and soundly based, given FDR's dictatorial tendencies. As evidence, he analyzes the writings of five leading journalists, four of them syndicated columnists, who became progressively more critical of Roosevelt between 1933 and 1938: Frank Kent, Arthur Krock, David Lawrence, Walter Lippmann, and Mark Sullivan. In the absence of effective criticism of Roosevelt from his fellow Democrats or the marginalized Republicans in Congress, these pundits furnished the only "loyal opposition" to FDR until GOP victories in the congressional elections of 1938.

The most valuable part of Best's argument is its forceful revisionism, which suggests a new perspective on the political press of the 1930s. Roosevelt's intense relationship with the White House press corps and his heavy-handed attempts to influence the mass media thoroughly studied, most recently by Betty Winfield. But there has been less critical examination of opposition in the press to Roosevelt or to the expanding role of syndicated columnists in the policy.

Once past the provocative revisionism, however, Best's argument needs more support. His review of the columnists' writings demonstrates conclusively that thoughtful press opposition to Roosevelt existed. What is less clear is how representative these columnists were in the political journalism of the 1930s. Kent, Lippmann, et al, were carried on the editorial pages of newspapers with eight million circulation. But Best excludes from his study columnists with greater audience exposure, such as Robert S. Allen and Drew Pearson, because theirs were news-oriented "insider" columns rather than primarily opinion.

Unquestionably, Best's four syndicated columnists plus Krock, who appeared only in the *New York Times*, had an influential readership, including Roosevelt. FDR found them exasperating, especially because the columnists, who had a greater degree of independence from their employers and daily news pressures, were also less manageable. But Best is on shakier ground when he asserts that these five pundits collectively articulated an opposition capable of

preventing a dictatorship, even assuming that the New Dealers seriously intended to impose one.

Nevertheless, Best raises important questions about the nature and influence of political journalism in the New Deal years. The expansion of the federal government into new areas of American life was paralleled by a similar expansion of Washington, D.C. journalism. Like the government, the press during the New Deal assumed new roles, including that of the quasi-independent syndicated columnist. Considering the prominence of pundits in the polity sixty years later, Best's argument that they constitute an opposition voice in lieu of weakened or neutralized political parties is a suggestive one.

Steve Ponder, University of Oregon

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Douglas S. Campbell, ***Free Press v. Fair Trial: Supreme Court Decisions Since 1807***. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1994. 264 pp. Cloth, $59.95.

Thirty cases, from the trial of Aaron Burr for treason in 1807 to the 1991 appeal of a convicted murderer named Mu'Min, are presented here. The subject is the contamination of juries by media – how to prevent juries from becoming unfairly biased against a defendant; what to do in cases that may have been decided by information or influences neither admitted into evidence nor subject to cross-examination; how to balance the access demanded by the First Amendment with the criminal trial procedures set forth by the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution.

The cases one might expect are here: the Haymarket Square anarchists [*Spies v. Illinois* (1887)]; the Bird Man of Alcatraz [*Stroud v. U.S.* (1919)]; the trial of Leslie "Mad Dog" Irvin [*Irvin v. Dowd* (1961)]; the televised trial of the swindler Billie Sol Estes [*Estes v. Texas* (1965)]; the carnival trial of Dr. Samuel Sheppard [*Sheppard v. Maxwell* (1966)]; and the pronouncements of the Supreme Court concerning gag orders, access to pretrial hearings, and access to trials. The reader looking for a particular case that was not selected for an extended discussion in the book is likely to find it briefly described in an appendix.

The presentation of each case is designed for nonlawyers. Each case begins with a "background" section which provides introductory historical and legal narrative. A "circumstances" section sets forth the specific facts of the crime and trial court disposition. A "summary of the Court's analysis" and "ruling" follows, concluding in a discussion of the "significance" of each case. This format draws the reader into appreciating the logic – or illogic – of the legal reasoning involved. In many instances, these cases develop their own kind of internal dynamic and speak directly to each other.

The problems with this work have to do with the author's claim that he is taking "an historical look" at the conflict between a free press and a fair trial. Of the thirty cases presented in the book, only three predate 1887. Moreover, there is a complete hiatus between the discussion of the Birdman of Alcatraz in 1919 and the 1951 case of *Shepherd v. Florida*. The choice to focus exclusively on the U.S. Supreme Court means that state court decision on the subject are ignored. Moreover, why the Supreme Court should have changed its mind on a particular issue seems unclear. For example, what factors outside the courtroom

may have caused the Court to permit televised trials in the 1981 case of *Chandler v. Florida*, when sixteen years earlier the Court refused to permit a televised trial in the case of Billie Sol Estes?

With these caveats, Campbell's book may make a fine addition for those who want a reference work at their fingertips. I can imagine *Free Press v. Fair Trial* saving me many trips to the law library to look up volumes of *U.S. Reports*. I can also project expeditions provoked by the book, as I follow up on the leads Campbell provides.

Richard Scheidenhelm, Colorado State University

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Charles E. Clark, David Paul Nord, Gerald Baldasty, Michael Schudson, and Loren Ghiglione, ***Three Hundred Years of the American Newspaper,*** Introduction by John B. Hench. Worcester, Mass.: The American Antiquarian Society, 1991. Paper, $13.95.

This slim volume of essays on the history of the American Newspaper was published to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of *Publick Occurrences*. The essays' single most important contribution is to their explanation of how the press, with its roles as profit-making business and public watchdog, defined and shaped the American political and social agenda.

Charles E. Clark locates Benjamin Harris's *Publick Occurrences* in the context of American colonial printing developments. Clark argues that from 1720 to 1740, American newspapers represents experimentation in sponsorship, function and content. Postmasters, literary clubs, and political factions sponsored newspapers, and content varied from John Campbell's permanent record of public events to the literary essay. By 1740 the content of newspapers was fairly well established, with a focus on news, essays and exchanges of letters on critical American public events and issues. Although newspapers reached far beyond the bounds of the elite audience publishers addressed, Clark argues that readers were "drawn into a system of shared values and essentially elite attitudes that were part of the fabric in which news and literature alike were almost universally embedded."

After 1776, David Paul Nord argues, newspapers no longer appeared to perpetuate a system of shared values because they were outrageously partisan and "exacerbated *all* the lines of cleavage in the early republic." However, Nord claims that in creating a political dialogue for highly charged state issues, newspapers helped to build a sense of nationhood. "Though organizers of faction, newspapers helped to standardize a political language of state, which came, in turn, to serve as the mythic language of the nation."

By the late nineteenth century, newspapering adopted an overt business orientation in addition to traditional political and social functions. Gerald Baldasty argues that the business nature of media originated during an era of mass production, distribution and marketing in which manufacturers began to view media as a link – or "lifeline" – to consumers. In a period of business growth and declining political partisanship, newspaper content focused more on "facts," and editors argued that readers wanted their politics "straight." The shift from political essay to diverse news and features led to questions that persist

today about intrusiveness, privacy and portrayal of violence in media. Thus, the tension between press-as-business and press-and-democracy continues.

Michael Schudson, in a theoretical look at three hundred years of the American newspaper, argues that mainstream histories have ignored media because of a transmission view of communication. However, if one heeds a ritual model, first suggested by James Carey, one views the media as "a central institution, one might even claim the central institution in the cultural construction of American nationhood and cityhoods and communityhoods across the land."

In the book's final essay, Loren Ghiglione outlines the various fictional characterizations of journalists, concluding that the sleazy side of journalism is well captures in novels and film, but that the concept of the journalist as a necessary element in democratic life has not been well represented, and that the public is often eager to publish the journalist as a messenger of bad news.

Although the essays in this collection do not break new interpretative or theoretical ground, they integrate elements of previous research and would serve as an excellent supplementary text for a history of media course.

Jean Folkerts, George Washington University

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Alfred Emile Cornebise, ***Ranks and Columns: Armed Forces Newspapers in American Wars*** (Contributions to the study Of Mass Media and Communications, No.38), Greenwich, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993, 232 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

In *Ranks and Columns*, Alfred Emile Cornebise tells the history and importance of the newspaper to the American soldier on battlefields in the U.S. and around the world. Cornebise writes: "An American without his newspaper is a lost soul indeed. He is like a Frenchman who has nothing in his canteen but water; like an Englishman without his bathtub."

Cornebise looks at troop newspaper history from 1776 and through the Persian Gulf War. His underlying theme is that the American soldier must be kept informed of what's happening and the soldier's newspaper has been the best command information tool to accomplish this task. In the process, these newspapers also provide researchers and readers with an extremely detailed and personal account of the GI's daily activities.

According to Cornebise, U.S. generals from George Washington to Colin Powell recognized the need of such publications to maintain the support of the troops. Washington issued the American Army's first Command Information Directive in 1775, beginning the tradition of keeping soldier support through accurate and timely command information when he stated the "necessity of impressing on the minds of every soldier the importance of the cause, and what it is they are contending for."

Cornebise also discusses numerous soldier newspapers, showing how military commanders used the press as yet another factor in waging war.

He shows that during the Civil War, the number and importance of soldier written, edited and published newspapers grew and these papers were eagerly consumed by soldiers on both sides hungering for war news from all fronts.

Such papers were morale boosters, but editors often were criticized by commanders for harshly commenting on some leaders.

Although by World War I an impressive and varied array of soldier newspapers were published, Cornebise concludes that one paper – *Stars and Stripes* – emerged as king. *Stars and Stripes* started with a circulation of only thirty thousand in 1918, but by 1919 circulation had zoomed to 526,000. It was described as "the only official publication of the A.E.F." (American Expeditionary Forces). Cornebise quotes Gen. John J. Pershing, AEF commander, as describing *Stars and Stripes* as "a common means of voicing the thought of the entire American Expeditionary Forces."

The final three chapters deal with soldier newspapers from World War II to the Persian Gulf War, but *Stars and Stripes* remained the dominant troop newspaper from 1941-1991. During these fifty years, however, Cornebise notes the existence of a wide variety of local or regional troop newspapers published by almost every American military unit.

Cornebise's study provides critical scholars and general readers alike the rare opportunity to study a type of specialized newspaper over a 200-year period. Additionally, the author makes a strong case for keeping American soldiers fully and accurately informed about why they fight and die. Otherwise, the soldiers figure out how to acquire their desperately needed information, even if they have to publish it themselves.

Joseph Trahan, University of Tennessee-Chattanooga

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Roy Douglas, ***Between the Wars 1919-1939: The Cartoonists' Vision***. London: Routledge, 1992. 353 pp.

Between the Wars 1919-1939: The Cartoonists' Vision is the second book Roy Douglas, Reader at the University of Surrey in England, has produced which collects international political cartoons focused on a particular time period. His first, *The Second World War, 1939-1943: The Cartoonists' Vision* was published in 1990. In both titles, Douglas has chosen political cartoons which are chronologically arranged within each book to represent topical themes. A brief explanation of the historical context is given for each cartoon as well as its place and date of publication.

In the introduction of *Between the Wars*, Douglas characterizes himself as a "teacher of undergraduates" who is "conscious of the difficulty of explaining the world of half or three-quarters of a century ago to people living in a radically different environment." It is his thesis that cartoons can assist in the understanding of historical events. Indeed, he concludes in the book's final chapter that by reading a "mixed collection of international cartoons" such as he has compiled, that the "many-sidedness of truth" will be recognized and the risk of future major conflicts may be somewhat reduced.

While the author's intentions are laudable and the basic concept for his collections is sound, *Between the Wars* leaves much to be desired. Readers are not told how chapter topics (which are broadly grouped under titles such as "Hope, 1924" or "A time of conferences, 1925-1933") are chosen or on what basis the political cartoons reproduced were picked. Each chapter includes approximately a dozen cartoons, and the quality of reproduction varies widely.

Publications from England, the USA, France, Germany, and the USSR, were the primary sources and translations of the cartoons' captions and texts are inconsistent. This is particularly troublesome when the reproductions of the cartoons are too small for captions to be read without a magnifying glass – if one is capable of reading the original language of publication. A number of cartoons were taken from *L'Europe Nouvelle*, so the captions of Japanese, Polish, Austrian and Soviet cartoons are printed in the French translation, not the original languages. For anyone seriously interested in political cartoons, these are major difficulties.

Little information is given about the political stance of the publications from which the cartoons are drawn. In one of Douglas' rare instances of providing this information, he characterizes the *Chicago Tribune* as a "far right" publication, a questionable description at best. The cartoonists who created the works that are the motivation for the book are not even named or credited, except for those who are listed in the permissions section. No index is provided, making it impossible to compare depictions of Hitler between sections except by paging through them.

Between the Wars might be helpful for journalism historians seeking to locate a quick source for lecture slides of this particular time period. It could have been much more.

Lucy Shelton Caswell, Ohio State University

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Richard Fine, ***West of Eden: Writers in Hollywood, 1928-1940.*** Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. 206 pp. Paper, $14.95.

In the decade before World War II, the palmy backlots of Hollywood were the site of compelling struggle between Art and Commerce, the Muse and Mammon. With the advent of sound in the late 1920s, the centralized studio system had emerged, and one of the defining characteristics of the newly expanding film industry was its voracious appetite for scripts. In response, more than 120 established East Coast journalists, novelists, and playwrights, lured by what Ben Hecht called "tremendous sums of money for work that required no more effort than a game of pinochle," boarded the Super Chief and traveled to California in the 1930s to try their hand at screen-writing. Their number included Robert Benchley, Steven Vincent Benét, James M. Cain, Marc Connelly, John Dos Passos, William Faulkner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Moss Hart, Dashiell Hammett, Hecht, Lillian Hellman, George S. Kaufman, Charles MacArthur, Herman Mankiewicz, Ogden Nash, John O'Hara, Dorothy Parker, S.J. Perelman, Damon Runyan, Irwin Shaw, Robert Sherwood, Preston Sturges, Booth Tarkington, and Nathaniel West. Perhaps predictably, the Muse stood little chance.

What is most interesting about this rigorous yet readable monograph by Richard Fine of Virginia Commonwealth University is that, while certainly a tale of seduction, it steadfastly refuses to cast itself as a morality play. Indeed, Fine's central argument is that much of what he terms the Hollywood-the Destroyer myth is exactly that. And it is through his examination of the historical experiences of some forty of the most prominent Hollywood writers that he is able to develop a pair of larger themes: the changing nature of the

profession of authorship and the uneasy interplay between the worlds of serious and popular literature.

The real challenge faced by writers who went in the 1930s was not the Hollywood distractions of "quick money, fast women, and palm trees before breakfast" – or, as George Jean Nathan, Mencken's co-editor on *American Mercury*, once wrote, "mauve motor cars, marble dunking pools, English butlers, and seven-dollar neckties." Moreover, the writers' difficulties could not be attributed to studio mistreatment, mandatory literary prostitution, or problems posed by film's new dramatic form. Rather, the heart of the matter centered on an institutional change in the status and role of the author. "Writers not only crossed the continent to take up employment in the film industry," writes Fine, "but they also crossed a professional, indeed cultural, divide." Compared to the literary heyday of New York in the 1920s, Hollywood had much to offer writers in the way of pay and perks, but little use or understanding of writerly independence and creative autonomy. Building on the seminal work of William Charvat (*The Profession of Authorship in the United States*, 1968), Fine also argues that what happened in Hollywood in the 1930s has had a profound impact on the profession of authorship to this day.

Nevertheless, even today the myth of Hollywood-the-Destroyer retains its totemic power. Fine quotes one of the most telling lines Hemingway ever composed, and one that has haunted generations of writers ever since. "I did not believe," Papa wrote in *A Movable Feast*, "that anyone could write any way except the very best he could write without destroying his talent." As a few dissenters have pointed out, however, there may be other sources of writerly destruction. William Faulkner once suggested, "It's not the pictures which are at fault. The writer is not accustomed to the money. Money goes to his head and destroys him, not pictures." And the playwright Irwin Shaw had an even sterner view. "Hollywood only ruins those," he wrote, "who want to get ruined."

David Abrahamson, New York University

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Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, eds., ***The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. 292 pp. Paper,

The editors of this collection say in the introduction that they make no claim to the comprehensiveness. Rather their intent is to focus attention on the practice of doing cultural history. As they put it, "We want to promote an open-ended American cultural history in which a multiplicity of voices are heard, new experiments are made, and rigor and depth of description and analysis are demanded."

They consequently succeed on two levels. These essays are historical studies, studies in which scholars search for cultural meanings through a variety of sources. But they also are models for conducting such interpretive investigations as well, just as the two editors – who also contribute their own investigations – intended.

Nine essays are organized under four themes, and Fox and Wrightman say the groupings are "contingent" rather than necessary, are actually done for "heuristic purposes," designed to "raise key questions about the essays and about

the field of cultural history." Different editors might have come up with different grouping. The four categories are "The Representation of Experience," "Cultural Sagas of the Moral Life," "Constructing and Contesting 'Mass Culture,' " and "Cultural Power and the Public Life."

Connections between categories are loose, and any of the essays might have been placed under any of the categories. All the essays are connected by interpretive technique, by analyzing and reading narrative constructions or visual expressions. They connect as well by the underlying sensibility that all cultural forms are types of expression – or texts – of equally revealing merit.

As models for doing history, any of the nine essays might be useful to journalism historians, particularly scholars and teachers interested in ways to better investigate journalism as a cultural form of expression, or as one of many cultural texts that help us construct our realities.

But several essays are useful because they do indeed clearly demonstrate a specific way of looking at media as meaning-making vehicles. In the process, these investigations tell us something new about these media, whether the focus is eighteenth century murder accounts ("Early American Murder Narratives: The Birth of Horror" by Karen Hulttunen) or World War II magazine advertisements ("Fighting for the American Family: Private Interests and Political Obligation in World War II" by Robert B. Westbrook).

Most striking and interesting, perhaps, is Fox's investigation of the scandalous trial of Henry Ward Beecher for committing adultery with his friend and parishioner, Elizabeth Tilton.

The piece, "Intimacy on Trial: Cultural Meaning of the Beecher-Tilton Affair," uses news accounts of the trial, letters, and testimony by the principals to a church investigating committee. These sources are then studied to see how the scandal "illuminates the culture in which it took place," and to specifically determine what the incident and its coverage says regarding nineteenth century liberal Protestantism and bourgeois culture.

Fox concludes that the Beecher-Tilton affair was "a culture-shaping as well as a culture-reflecting event" in which "newspapers tested and then taught one another new norms of exposure and sensationalism." The result was that "the culture of celebrity was one manifestation of the culture of publicity that the trial both revealed and promoted."

In her investigation of murder narratives, Hulttunen first analyzes execution sermons that controlled the public discourse on murder and murderers in the early eighteenth century and then looks at the printed descriptions of murders and executions that became the common discourse in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Hulttunen shows how these narratives were a way of expressing horror and a means of comprehending "the problem of evil." She demonstrates that "the culture of horror at work in a range of literary forms in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a specific, highly defined experience that pointed to a major transformation in the understanding of human nature and moral evil."

Westbrook's reading of magazine ads and Norman Rockwell's depiction of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" during World War II is a means of exploring the problem of political obligation in a democratic state constructed on private experience and individual freedom.

According to Westbrook, Rockwell's illustrations and most World War II ads did not call for sacrificing and fighting for a greater good, or because citizenship demanded it, or because it was a political obligation. Instead, the illustrations reveal that Americans sacrificed for a better life for themselves and their families, and for the safety of their families.

Other essays that might interest mass media historians include "Sherwood Anderson: Looking for the White Spot" by Lears, and "Between Culture and Consumption: The Meditations of the Middlebrow" by Joan Shelley Rubin.

Lears compares and contrasts Anderson's fiction with copy he wrote for ad agencies, and spends considerable time with Anderson's views regarding writing for advertising, showing how Anderson's "serious" and commercial writing both involved searches for "authentic experience."

Rubin selects Stuart Pratt Sherman, founding editor in 1924 of the *New York Herald Tribune*'s book review supplement, and John Erskine, pioneer of the "great books" curriculum at Columbia University early in this century (the first great books course was offered in 1920) as representative figures in the movement following World War I to "make literature and humanistic discourse available to a wide reading public on an unprecedented scale."

Her exploration of the motives and philosophies of Sherman and Erskine challenge notions by the likes of Dwight MacDonald, who dismisses the authenticity of "masscult," which the work of people like Sherman and Erskine promoted.

Readers not bothered by the tenuous connections among these essays, and not disturbed by what is not covered, and readers who thrive in interdisciplinary research, will find much of value and interest in this collection.

At the very least, these essays do reinforce, as the editors suggest, a basic truth of cultural history, that "experience is mediated by language, that our access to experience in the past as in the present is decisively shaped by its encoding in particular rhetorical conventions." The editors and authors show the many possibilities for imaginative explorations of those conventions.

Thomas B. Connery, University of St. Thomas

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J. Justin Gustainis, ***American Rhetoric and the Vietnam War***. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers. 169 pp. Cloth, $45.

Vietnam is our autobiographical war. As J. Justin Gustainis writes, "so much rhetoric, with so much passion, by so many people, for so many years," not to slight so many darkly inscribed and silent names, ranks, dates. This is a book about some of the words, and some of the symbolic behavior.

It is, of course, a highly selective account. Imagine a small research conference. Gather the most worthy papers. Anticipate a range of inquiry. Accept a bit of duplication. Publish the results. You have a fair idea of this competent but loosely centered volume on the wartime discourse on Vietnam by its single author.

The foreword by Robert E. Denton Jr. puts the best possible face on the book's episodic strategy: "an impressive breadth of topics, concepts, analyses, and methodologies." There are sections on prowar and antiwar rhetorical case studies, and a brief section on media depiction of the war.

But a scant two-and-a-half pages are devoted to defining the overall project. None of the sections has its own introduction. An exception to this fractional analytical approach is a summary chapter on the failure of radical protest to reduce public support for the war. In the appendix there also is a short chronology of political, military, and rhetorical events.

On the prowar side, Gustainis discusses the domino theory as a condensation symbol, the rhetorical use of the hero myth in promoting the Green Berets, the rhetorical dimensions of the Tet Offensive, and Nixon's appeal to shared values in rallying the "Silent Majority." In the antiwar section, he counters with the Barrigans, SDS, and the Weathermen. The media section offers a rhetorical analysis of Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury*, commentary on the cinematic treatment of the Green Berets, and a Burkeian account of *Apocalypse Now*.

Popular culture historians may find the media chapters familiar. Other media historians can glean some contextual insight from the other chapters, especially if they have an interest in diverse methodologies applied to specific cases with clarity and precision.

Any communication scholar who inquires about "our" war faces a daunting task of complexity, both intellectually and emotionally. As Denton observes, the historical discourse on Vietnam sought to inspire, sustain and divide, interpret meaning, ultimately to define us. The tragedy of war is that words are never enough.

Douglas Birkhead, University of Utah

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Joseph C. Harsch, ***At the Hinge of History: A Reporter's Story.*** Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1993. Foreword by Joseph Fromm. 286 pp., 14 Photographs. Cloth, $29.95.

Joseph Harsch was amazing and did, indeed have a knack for being in the right place at the right time, as the promotional material for this book boasts. Serving as a correspondent for both the Columbia Broadcasting System and the *Christian Science Monitor*, Harsch was on the scene in Berlin during the early days of World War II's blitzkrieg in 1939 and 1940, arrived on the island of Oahu four days before the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, followed the American military efforts in the Pacific during the middle years of the war, and witnessed the liberation of Buchenwald and Dachau concentration camps in the spring of 1945. Later he visited Eastern Europe just as the iron curtain was descending in 1947, and in 1960 he conferred with a disappointed Adlai Stevenson in a hotel room as John F. Kennedy swept to victory at the Democratic National Convention. Credit either Harsch or his assignment editor for knowing where and when to find history as it was manufactured.

At the Hinge of History, then should be filled with extraordinary firsthand insight and revealing anecdotal commentary into the problems of everyday international journalism and American military and diplomatic maneuvering in the middle part of the century. It should be, but it isn't. Harsch contents himself with a carefully documented but well-tread re-creation of World War II and then a traditional, official American rendition of the early years of the cold war, a la Herbert Feis and George Kennan.

Most disappointing is the chapter recounting the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Harsch was just twelve miles down the beach having an early morning swim with his wife when they spotted smoke curling into the sky from decimated ships and planes at Pearl, but he reveals only that he drove to a hill overlooking the harbor and saw the devastation, and that the *Monitor* did not publish that day so he was in no hurry to write. Certainly, a trained journalist witnessing such a dramatic event could do better. The chaos? The urgency? The fear? The scene? Nothing but a few sparse sentences.

Media historians seeking insight into the pitfalls and successes of early broadcast journalism and traditional, objective newspaper reporting will be disappointed. Harsch hardly ever offers commentary on reporting or journalists, except to point out that a few American correspondents had cozied up to the Nazis too much in 1940 and that journalism was exciting. There is not much worthwhile anecdotal material and little new about the events that came to pass under Harsch's watch.

Perhaps, at age eighty-eight, he was not prepared to write with much insight or charisma about events that had occurred fifty to sixty years earlier. Maybe Harsch's training as an objective journalist prevented him from offering us more than a stream of historical events and facts that have been oft recorded in the intervening years by better schooled historians. Whatever the case, this book will be a disappointment to all but the neophyte historian, who may want an antiseptic recollection of the unfolding events of World War II and the early cold war.

Louis W. Liebovich, University of Illinois

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Kenneth M. Jennings, ***Labor Relations at the New York Daily News: Peripheral Bargaining and the 1990 Strike.*** Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1993. 232 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

If your field of interest is the history of labor relations in American journalism, then this meticulously researched volume is essential. Kenneth Jennings , a professor of industrial relations at the University of North Florida, has crafted a highly detailed, in-depth account of a strike that historians in the future may deem as the turning point in the history of modern labor management disputes in American Journalism. Jennings' account of the labor strike against the *New York Daily News* in 1990 is exhaustively researched and documented. His analysis is so carefully constructed that it is akin to an autopsy.

Jennings uses the concept of "peripheral" bargaining to analyze the seemingly self-destructive nature of a strike in which any victory claimed by either side was, at best, a pyrrhic one. Peripheral bargaining is defined as: (1) the lack of flexibility exhibited by union and management negotiators, (2) bargaining emphasis on principles and personalities instead of measurable bargaining table issues, and (3) the negotiators' susceptibility to external influences. In short, peripheral bargaining is a confrontational method as opposed to traditional bargaining, which emphasizes compromise and focuses on measurable issues.

Although Jennings maintains an objective position in his study, it is clear that the villain of the piece is the *News* management. They initiated the confrontation and tried to force the union's hand by employing peripheral

bargaining tactics. However, the unions are not without fault. They react in a highly defensive and confrontational manner that is as negative and as counter-productive as management's.

Jennings does not attempt to set his study within the context of the long and turbulent history of newspaper management-labor union disputes. Instead, the book begins with an account of labor disputes involving the *News'* then parent company, the Chicago Tribune Company, in the 1980s. Jennings identifies the makings of the 1990 *News* strike in the tactics used by management in these disputes. In fact, some of the major players reappear during the 1990 strike. This lack of a better developed historical context is really not a flaw; Jennings is not a historian. It is the historians who have the responsibility to take Jennings work and place it in historical context. Jennings has created an invaluable resource that should prove highly useful for some time to come.

Joseph P. McKerns, Ohio State University

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William R. Linley, ***20th Century American Newspapers: In Content and Production.*** Manhattan, Kan.: Sunflower University Press, 1993. 116 pp. Paper, $14.95.

The evolution of the American newspaper has come essentially in three phases, and what's in William Lindley's easily read scan of the newspaper scene – what's in it and what's not – shows clearly how the time frame per phase is shortening.

The first phase took about ninety years and the second about nineteen, and that's where the long-time journalism professor stops. The third phase, the growth of the electronic newspaper, will probably take less than nine years, is clearly already upon us, and is very much a part of the twentieth century. But it's missing here.

From the introduction of Ottmar Mergenthaler's Linotype machines at the *New York Tribune* in 1886 until the onrush of video display terminals in the 1970s, production processes got much better but changed little in their essentials. Then computers, of course, dramatically altered the ways in which a paper is produced. Now electronic newspapers are likely to make similar startling changes in the world of news.

Lindley has two focal points – technological change into the computer age, and the impact on content of changes in journalism education over the decades. He notes how technological advances have altered both the production and business sides of papers, have contributed to the disappearance of most two-newspaper cities and the development of chains – which he observes owners prefer to call groups – and how they've affected the human side, the work of reporters and editors.

In charting journalism education from General Robert E. Lee's press scholarships for Virginia boys through the 1920s programs at NYU and the universities of Missouri, Wisconsin, and Washington, and then beyond, he reports succinctly but clearly the development of graduate programs and the gradual widening of the town-gown split. The gap remains, he points out, between communication-oriented academicians and those focused on the professional side of journalism teaching. "A degree had become almost

essential for media employment (in the 1990s), but no particular educational path seemed to take preference," he writes.

He discusses the gradual development of a reporter/editor corps that is 80 percent college educated, a marked departure from the pre-World War II days, and suggests a downside: Is the resulting rise in language level, he asks, a factor in the failure of newspaper circulation to keep pace with population growth?

Lindley has much professional experience and taught for years at Idaho State and other universities. He includes material from a 1989 journal article on his work in the *Salt Lake City Tribune* newsroom in the 1950s, and its vivid picture of newspaper life at the time is the book's liveliest chapter. The prose otherwise is clear and concise but somewhat spare. He offers few anecdotes, for example, that might flesh out the papers and small number of people he mentions. His intent is to provide only an overview, and he does so quite well.

The only real disappointment is his cut-off point. By April 1993, the *San Jose Mercury News* had launched its wide-ranging electronic news service, Knight-Ridder's electronic-tablet paper was being widely discussed, and all the information-superhighway talk invariably included the prospect of home-computer access to newspapers around the country. His insights into ramifications for the future, judging by his clear-eyed view of the past, would have been welcome.

Ted Stanton, University of Houston

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Genevieve G. McBride, ***On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage.*** Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994. 352 pp. Cloth, $43, Paper, $19.95.

The years between 1848 and 1920, in Wisconsin perhaps characteristically as anywhere else in America, were filled with the turmoil women seeking rights and public stature. Genevieve McBride, the daughter of a politically active mother and a journalist father, as well as a former journalist and public relations consultant herself, has chosen to look at the state's women's movements– for temperance, decency and the vote – by closely exploring the tactics which gained the leaders of the movements their publicity and, ultimately, their victories.

Beginning with the 1848 Declaration of Sentiments produced in Seneca falls, New York, at the first women's rights convention, McBride details the "action plan for a public opinion campaign ...'We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf.'" This delineation of the tactics the women's movements would use for drawing public attention and winning public opinion underlies much of the exploration which follows. McBride concentrates on the press aspect of that plan, though other facets of the struggle do merit mention. Women's access to and use of the press in Wisconsin evolves throughout the book, in a nonlinear manner that evokes the setbacks and progress of the campaign for women's rights.

The technique encourages the reader to see the leading activists, from Lavinia Goodall and Emma Brown to Theodora Youmans, both in political terms and as manipulators of social reform in increasingly sophisticated ways. As with so many other histories of the women's movement, a basic element in

On Wisconsin Women is the interface between the female reformers and the men who held the power in the press, the legislature, and the courts. Indeed, McBride shows that the male-dominated press in Wisconsin was one of the most hostile in the country to the causes of women; even when the editorial philosophy accorded with ends such as temperance or abolition, women's contributions were kept anonymous, forcing women to even further efforts to gain and retain influence.

But McBride does not fall into the trap of making these efforts merely a battle against men. She is careful to credit the male support and encouragement many of the activists received in addition to support from their own female co-reformers. Thus, the catalog of defeats is given without polemicism or bitterness, and the list of hard-won, ongoing victories is detailed without a sense of triumphalism, both of which sometimes mar women's histories.

If the book disappoints, it is in its failure to deal – in any but the most cursory ways – with the lives of its subjects outside their political and social roles. These were remarkable women because certain aspects of their characters and lives gave them the capacity to be remarkable. The history might have been aided and rendered more complete by a brief inclusion, for each, of what these aspects were.

That qualification aside, McBride has created a readable, rich, and fairly interesting study of feminism and journalism during eighty crucial years for both the state of Wisconsin and the nation as a whole. On its own terms – looking locally at a national struggle – it succeeds quite well.

Barbara Straus Reed, Rutgers University

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Joanne Morreale, ***The Presidential Campaign Film: A Critical History*** (Praeger Series in Political Communication). Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1993. 224 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

What do *What Manner of Man, Jimmy Who?*, and *A New Beginning* have in common? They are all Presidential campaign films, designed to stir the hearts and minds of voters. As a form of political communication the campaign film has been largely unexplored, but Joanne Morreale recently seized the opportunity to produce a useful and insightful history. She sees the films as artifacts revealing as much about the cultural moments in which they were made as do about the candidates and the campaigns. Intended to tell the candidate's and the nation's stories as if they were one, a campaign film reconfigures the contemporary sociohistorical circumstances in a way that enables the candidate to assume mythical qualities. It is a common strategy designed to lead directly to the Oval Office, but it works only half the time.

In her study, Professor Morreale divides the history of the campaign film into two episodes of formal development. The first she calls "Classical" (1948 to 1972) when traditional forms of documentary exposition shaped most films. The second (1976 to 1992) she refers to as "Modern" when hybrid from emerged combining the techniques and strategies of both documentary and spot advertising. Campaign films of the Classical form were primarily instruments of motivation, aimed at the party faithful. Those that are Modern, on the other hand, have been designed to reach broad nonpartisan television audiences. Rather than relying on well defined exposition structures, these more recent

films are likely to consist of a series of vignettes or sentimental "moments" strung together with emotional music rather than reason.

Although the Classical period included amalgams like *Report to Ike*, and Nixon's *Ambassador of Friendship*, it was with Humphrey's 1968 film, *What Manner of Man*, that the expository form was most fully realized. Unfortunately for Humphrey, a successful campaign film was not enough. Because its main purpose was to reconnect the candidate to his splintered party, *What Manner of Man* did not reach far beyond traditional Democratic boundaries. But in 1976, Gerald Rafshoon's introductory film for the Carter campaign, *Jimmy Who?*, aimed at the uncommitted middle as much or more than the party faithful. Relying on emotion and optimism to stir new supporters, it helped to initiate the Modern form of campaign filmmaking.

In the 1980s the Republicans proved to be the masters of the new form, illustrated best by Ronald Reagan's 1984 film, *A New Beginning*. It was primarily a sequence of sentimental appeals to Main Street American patriotism. Morreale argues the film exploited several cliché conventions of popular television to mirror back to America the most comforting images on itself. Not until Bill Clinton's *The Man From Hope*, did the Democrats finally match the Republicans' mastery. The Clinton film put partisanship aside, and focused instead on a sympathetic view of the private world of the candidate.

Morreale suggests political position and motivation have lost their central roles in Presidential campaign films, only to be replaced by confected visions of the nation and the candidate most likely to deliver the politically complacent. While she reads these films with a careful eye, and reveals qualities of the cultural moment in which each was made, her book might have been stronger had she also developed a fuller assessment of the campaign film's instrumental value. Which ones were most effective and why? How were they best used? How do we know? Morreale's work is solid and makes a significant contribution, but more remains to be understood about the campaign film as a tool of political communication.

Robert Thurber, University of St. Thoma

•

George P. Oslin, ***The Story of Telecommunications***. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1992. 507 pp.

George Oslin's life work, published when he was 93, is a detailed and anecdotal review of the development of wired communication in the United States. Oslin's 35 years as public relations manager of Western Union is in clear evidence throughout the text, as he essentially traces the evolution of the telegraph company and its chief rival, and onetime partner, American Telephone & Telegraph.

Oslin's strength is in the careful research he has conducted on the early years of the telegraphy industry. He provides a history rich in specifics about the key people driving the industry, their financial wheelings and dealings, and the technical innovations which led to the growth of the telecommunications industry.

He also recounts, with painstaking detail, the spread of nearly every significant telegraph line in this country in the nineteenth century, from along the eastern seaboard, through the south and midwest, and eventually to

California, to support the goldrush of the 1850s. Two full chapters are dedicated to the false starts, failed attempts and final success of transatlantic cables.

Throughout the book, Oslin provides us with the names of persons sitting on various boards of directors, lists of dollar amounts of stock options for different companies, and the struggles, financial and physical, of the people who built and operated the lines of communication.

Anecdotes fill the pages. For example, Oslin tells us that the famous words first used by Samuel Morse as the inaugural telegraph message, "What hath God wrought!" were actually selected by Miss Annie Ellsworth, the daughter of a friend. Oslin also tells of the Pony Express riders riding for twelve or more hours at a stretch in freezing weather, the Civil War telegraphers in the South often killed at their "keys," and the intrigue of boardroom battles to control Western Union. The narrative is engaging and the writing is clear.

Oslin's emphasis on wired communications limits the scope of his text and relegates the invention of wireless to a few simple pages. He follows the use of early "facsimile" machines – invented in the 1930s – through to their widespread use today, and attempts to introduce computer and satellite communications to the mix in the latter stages of the book. Though helpful, his examination of these technologies is less successful than the material on the earlier inventions. Oslin is also unable to discuss in any depth the cultural implications of the inventions he traces, and virtually ignores government regulation and its impact on the industry.

The book has a thorough index and an extensive bibliography of collections consulted in its compilation, and footnotes and references are a compete and helpful tool for future researchers. In addition, 153 finely reproduced pictures and illustrations grace the book.

The Story of Telecommunications is a valuable resource for examining the development of the telegraph and telephone and is a useful addition to an undergraduate library's collection. Mr. Oslin should feel satisfied that his life's work makes a solid and substantive contribution to our understanding of the rise of electronic communication.

Kevin Sauter, University of St. Thomas

•

Bernard Palmer, *Gadfly for God. A History of the* Church Times. Hodder and Stoughton Ltd., 1991. 354 pp. Cloth, £17.95.

Founded in 1863 by George Josiah Palmer (the great-grandfather of the author), the *Chuch Times* (*CT*) is the oldest surviving Church of England weekly. Its story (as the author states) is "a record of ... the men and women who have contributed to the paper and helped shape its character" and, of course, the history of the Palmer family which owned and published the *CT* until September 1989 when it was sold to the Canterbury Press.

G.J. Palmer was a High Anglican and an enthusiast for the Oxford Movement who at first made the penny paper the mouthpiece of Anglo-Catholicism. It was certainly not a propaganda vehicle for the Church of England hierarchy and throughout its existence was indeed independent, often opinionated, irreverent, and unhesitatingly critical of what it deemed to be wrongdoing in the Church. Throughout the four generations during which the

CT was managed by the Palmer family, it was generally produced by a very able editorial staff and skilled leader-writers which included the former Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath (news editor from February 1948 to September 1949).

Under Josiah Palmer, the circulation of the *CT* increased from 3,976 in 1863 to 24,153 in 1886. During the tenure (1887-1914) of his son, the Reverend Henry James Palmer, the sales of the paper more than doubled from 25,664 in 1887 to 64,559 by 1914. Under the direction of subsequent editors – E. Hermitage (1915-23), Sidney Dark (1924-40), Leonard Prestige (1941-47), Humphry Beevor (1948-50), Rosamund Essex (1951-60), and Roger L. Roberts (1961-68) – sales of the *CT* ranged from 40,000 plus (especially during World War II) to a high of almost 65,000 in 1961. Thereafter, under Bernard Palmer (the author of this book who was editor from 1969-1988), sales of the paper decreased from 53,570 (1969) to 45,262 (1988).

From the mid-nineteenth century onward, the *CT* became more topical in the presentation of Church and political issues and published a most informative book review and letters to the editor sections. In fact, the letters to the editor published in the *CT* throughout the years are an excellent source for historians of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras and the ensuing decades of British social and cultural history. Generally, after the last decades of the nineteenth century, the *CT* became less Anglo-Catholic and more "mid-range" Church in point of view and outlook. Above all, it was highly respected for plain speaking and criticism of abuses (especially nepotism) in the Church of England. Thus, in 1873-74, the paper assailed the patronage practices of Archbishop Tait when he conferred choice church livings on relatives of Mrs. Tait; in 1876 the *CT* accused the Bishop of London of "wallowing in the mire of nepotism"; and, in 1873, excoriated the Vicar of Bradford for appointing his recently ordained young son to a comfortable benefice. Nor were politicians spared the lash. In 1868 the *CT* accused Disraeli of doing more than any other official and Cabinet minister "to alienate the support and sympathy of Catholics and seeking to use the Anglican Church as a pawn in his political games."

Of all the editors of the *CT*, one of the most interesting and able was Rosamund Essex (1900-85). An Oxford graduate in the Classics, she joined the staff of the paper as a "descriptive" writer and concentrated on the problem of poverty and the Church during the Great Depression in the early 1930s. When Humphry Beevor resigned as editor in 1950, Essex succeeded him and, since the management seems to have doubted the ability of a woman to edit the paper, recruited two clerics to assist her. Fortunately, it proved a most satisfactory arrangement which greatly enhanced the circulation of the *CT*. Brisk and incisive, Rosamund Essex's bravado was often irritating. Yet she demonstrated that she could more than hold her own in the male dominated environment of London journalism during the 1950s and 1960s and was a fine role model for women striving to make their way upward in Fleet Street.

Palmer's history of the *CT* is a very good exercise in the genre of newspaper biography. It is objective, interesting, and a good read.

J.O. Baylen , Eastbourne, England

DANIEL HOROWITZ

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Janet E. Steele, *The* Sun *Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993. 212 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

If one considers the countless biographies and journal articles that have been written about Charles Dana, the normal reaction should be that there is nothing left to be said about this eccentric editor of the *New York Sun*. However, Steele has successfully pulled together a massive set of data on Dana into a modest volume that gets to the social and political ideals that led to the rise and, ultimately, the decline of the *Sun* under Dana's direction.

Steele contends that Dana's influence as a leading New York newspaper publisher during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century has been overlooked by American and journalism historians. She thinks he was one of the greatest innovators in American journalism and that his *Sun* was famous for its style, its literary character and its fresh definition of "the news."

His early experiences of being raised in poverty, participation in the Brook Farm experiment (where he dabbled in Fourierism), and an apprenticeship on the *New York Tribune* with "the great crusader," Horace Greeley, are major contributing factors in Dana's concern and support for working class Americans and, eventually, his alignment with the Democratic Party. However, his inability to adapt to the changing social and political climate – and the arrival of more aggressive newspaper publishers – at the turn of the century caused him to become bitter, antagonistic and, consequently, no longer effective as an editor.

Dana's influence on newspaper development was first demonstrated at the *Tribune*. It was here that he first began to retain the best writers and correspondents (including Karl Marx), separated news from advertisements and, at a time when there was a frenzy of sensationalism, reported only "cases of importance" from the daily police reports. It was Dana, as managing editor and Thomas McElrath as business manager, who made the *Tribune* profitable and helped lead to the national prominence of Horace Greeley. His association with the *Tribune* continued until Dana ran the ill-advised editorial "Forward to Richmond" that caused Greeley to terminate their relationship in 1861.

After serving in the War Department during the Civil War and a brief sojourn in Chicago journalism with the *Republican*, Dana bought the *Sun* in 1868 and began his own independent newspaper publishing career. Steele says he combined three elements to make the *Sun* the most read newspaper in New York: sympathy for working class Americans, independence from political parties, and a playful sense of humor in both the editorial and news content of the paper. He was the ultimate in the independent, "personal" journalist of the late nineteenth century whose newspaper took on the ideals and personality of the editor.

However, Dana was also a man of great contradictions. On social and political issues, he championed the causes of the working class and attacked fraud and shams in public life – yet, he was an opportunist driven by self interests and a hunger for wealth and political power. And, even though an innovator in news and editorial content with his newspapers he stubbornly refused to install modern typesetting machines in his back shop and saw

advertising as a distraction instead of the financial base upon which the "modern" newspaper would be built.

His great success made the *Sun* the largest newspaper in New York and caused other newspaper publishers, such as Joseph Pulitzer, to declare in 1884 that the *Sun* was "the newspaperman's newspaper." Yet, from that time on Dana chose not to compete in the growing newspaper competition in New York and the *Sun* began a general decline in circulation, readership and political influence. He switched to a more conservative editorial policy with growing support for business instead of labor, bolted from the Democratic Party, and was unwilling to compete with Pulitzer's *World*.

The *Sun*, which would "shine for all" during the first twenty years with Dana's editorship, had lost its position as a preeminent new York newspaper by the time of his death in 1897. In the thirty years that Dana was a participant in New York journalism, newspaper publishing changed from the independent, personal journalism of James Gordon Bennett, Horace Greeley – and Charles Dana – to the more corporate journalism of Joseph Pulitzer, E.W. Scripps, and William Randolph Hearst.

The *Sun*, Steele contends, was pushed aside by the currents of social and political change in American society at the turn of the century. No longer were newspapers being bought by working class New Yorkers because of their editorial support for political parties. Instead, readers were choosing those newspapers that entertained them and supported the consumerism associated with the industrial revolution that was sweeping the nation.

This book is well written, carefully researched, and thoroughly documented. As any author should, Steele carefully places Dana within the context of American history in the last half of the nineteenth century. It is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature on American journalism history.

Perry J. Ashley, University of South Carolina

•

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Short Takes

Richard Kopley, ***Edgar Allan Poe and the Philadelphia Saturday News***. Sixty-sixth Annual Commemoration Lecture of the Edgar Allan Poe Society, 1988. Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1991. 28 pp. Paper, $3.50.

Journalism historians interested in either literary magazines of the 1830s or in the relationship between fact and fiction will find the Kopley lecture of interest. Kopley closely looks at *The Philadelphia Saturday News and Literary Gazette*, which published from July 1836 to January 1839. He documents the publication's commentary on Poe's literary criticism, but more importantly cites news items that Poe probably used in his fiction, particularly in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," often called the first modern detective story.

•

Harrison E. Salisbury, ***Heroes of My Time***. New York: Walker and Company, 1993. 210 pp. Cloth, $19.95.

Salisbury, the great reporter and chronicler of his time who dies in 1993, presents twenty essays that are a cross between personality profiles and personal reflections of "men and women whose bravery burns in my mind and always will." They are people he knew personally, not role models; people who despite "blemishes" and flaws inspired Salisbury "by their conduct in times of great peril." These heroes range from Robert Kennedy and Malcolm X to Liu Binyan, the Chinese investigative reporter, and a Catholic Chinese nun who works with lepers. They also include David Halberstam, Homer Bigart, Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, and Edgar Snow.

•

Katrina Vanden Heuvel, ed., ***The Nation 1865-1990: Selections from the Independent Magazine of Politics and Culture***. Introduction by E.L. Doctorow. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1991. 533 pp. Paper, $14.95.

After the publication's original prospectus and a Godkin editorial supporting Reconstruction, this collection begins with Henry James reflecting on "Saratoga" in 1870 and ends with a 1981 poem by Josephine Jacobsen. In between are articles and commentary by some of America;s most celebrated critics, activists and writers, and a sampling of its finest poets as well. There is even a letter-to-the-editor from Hitler. Doctorow describes this collection as a "hope chest" containing "your family's life." Each piece is dated and contains a brief editor's note.

•

Madeleine B. Stern, ***The Life of Margaret Fuller***. Revised, Second Edition. Contributions to Women Studies, Number 123. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1991. 402 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

Stern's first edition was published by E.P. Dutton in 1942. In the nearly fifty years between that publication and this second edition, Fuller's star has risen. As Stern says in the Preface to this edition, "Her own literary

achievement has at last been recognized, and her progress from thinker to activist traced." Indeed, fourteen of the twenty works listed under "Principal Fuller Sourcebooks" – which precedes a bibliographical essay – have been published since Stern's first edition. The book includes a lively description of Fuller's first meeting with Horace Greeley, and places Fuller's work for the *New York Tribune* and her work at *The Dial* within the greater context of her life and times, and particularly her transcendental beliefs.

•

Michael Aron, ***Governor's Race: A TV Reporter's Chronicle of the 1993 Florio/Whitman Campaign***. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994. 301 pp. Paper, $14.95.

Aron, a former Rolling Stone and Harper's associate editor, is senior political correspondent for New Jersey's public television system. During the 1992 campaign he kept a daily journal and this book is the result. It's sort of a "reporter's notebook," containing items that didn't necessarily appear in his broadcasts or in the coverage of other reporters. It also contains material he received off the record or "on background." He says he assumed it's okay to use that material now that the race is over. Aron says his book is intended to "tell you what I saw and what I thought as the story unfolded." He also sees his book as "a living document of the 1993 governor's race."

•

Lloyd Kramer, Donald Reid, and William L. Barney, eds., ***Learning History in America: Schools, Cultures and Politics***. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994. 225 pp. Paper, $16.95.

Teaching cultural diversity in history is the broad, major focus of this volume, and specifically "the problem of communicating historical knowledge and interpretations within a culture that often ignores or trivializes historical understanding." Although the book's essays were presented at a 1991 University of North Carolina conference on "the transmission of historical knowledge in American schools and popular culture," most of the discussion only rarely and indirectly connects to mass media.

Of particular interest is the third section, "Popular Films and Historical Memory." Most of this section deals with Ariel Dorfman's Paper Tiger video "Interventions in the Field of Dreams" and includes the video's script, a commentary and an interview with Dorfman. The book's other three sections are "Textbooks, Survey Courses, and Historical Education," "Rethinking Categories of Historical Meaning," and "Political Culture and Historical Interpretation."

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Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism* or propose a book for review should contact Professor Thomas Connery, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. 55105.

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SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor Wallace B. Eberhard, Editor, College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia, Athens 30602-3018. Telephone: (706) 542-5033. FAX: (706) 542-4785. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including tables and footnotes.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author includes a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussion of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, suggestions for future research, or response to material previously published in *American Journalism*. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

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From the Editor's Desk...

SOMEWHERE NEAR THE bottom of the mail stack that piled up during a vacation was a note from our president-elect, Alf Pratte of Brigham Young. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, he reported, is leaning toward eliminating its "Green Book" and what could we collectively do about this? For the uninitiated, the Green Book is the ASNE's record of its annual convention, more formally labeled *Proceedings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.* The execution of this venerable volume has been stayed for a year, but Alf was lobbying this editor (and anyone else who cared) to do what could be done to stick with the 70-year-old *Proceedings.* It's easy for anyone with historical interests to jump on Alf's bandwagon, which we hereby do. What is frustrating and puzzling is the continuing ignorance on the part of many in the media business of the importance of the historical record. Journalists, for a long list of sound reasons, are not very good at tending to history. Though they may write the first draft thereof, they move on to the next local or world event and crisis and leave very few tracks. For instance, few collections match the thirty thousand items in the Ralph McGill papers at Emory University; it was the perseverance of his secretary that led to the building of that record, rather than McGill's eye on the writing of the history of the civil rights movement and his role in Southern journalilsm of the time.

It is curious that journalism's editors and executives too often disregard the rising interest in journalism history, as well as history as a whole. For support, one has to look no further than the gentle genius of Ken Burns, who rekindled our collective focus on the Civil War; his baseball series will not want for eager viewers (baseball strike or not). And, on a triangular journey from Georgia to Massachusetts to Ohio and back, we found reason to pay homage to the local historians of our land. We had to fight to keep the wheels pointed straight ahead; our Saturn wanted to follow this sign or that to an historic site or house or museum just off the road. When I listened to my trusty car (and navigator-wife) and headed for a crossroads near Medina, Ohio, it lead to an 1840s home, the headquarters of the Sharon Township Historical Society, and a cemetery list that turned up a listing of burials in the cemetery down the road. Two of the names were Eberhards, and a connection which, when verified, will likely extend the record of my predecessors who made the voyage from Germany to America by a generation, thanks to the patient work of that group of Ohioans. Now, family history is not history in the grand manner, but the connection is obvious. Unless we preserve the record of the present

and reconstruct the physical records of the past, we'll never write any decent history. Thus, we should urge the ASNE to stay with the status quo. The list of journalism scholars who use the collection of ASNE proceedings is long. The *Proceedings* help us understand how journalists think and act, individually and collectively.

Alf, as you may expect, has already written Lee Stinnett, ASNE executive director. You may wish to add your support (address: American Society of Newspaper Editors, P. O. Box 4090, Reston, Va. 22090). Once we've done that, perhaps we should consider organizing a larger campaign to preserve the historical record and papers of journalism and journalists. The Sharon Township Historical Society is, in many respects, way ahead of us.

&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.&etc.

WORK ON THE SPECIAL ISSUE OF *AJ* under the title, "World War II and the Mass Media," is underway. It will be published in 1995, marking the fiftieth anniverary of the end of that "good" but awful conflict. Invited essays on the historiography of the period are under preparation by these authors:Margaret Blanchard, New Carolina, free expression; Patrick Washburn, Ohio, the minority press; Louise Benjamin, Georgia, broadcasting;Betty Winfield, Missouri, the government and the press; and Maurine Beasley, Maryland, women and wartime journalism. We have a number of esearch manuscripts in hand and under review. Deadline for manuscripts for this issue is 30 September 1994.....**FOR THOSE WHO ARE** trying to fit the issues mailed from Athens in proper order with others in their *AJ* collection, some guidance. The immediate past editor, John Pauly, late of Tulsa University, now at Saint Louis University, will issue Volume 9 and Numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 10. So, you will eventually have all that you are entitled to as member or subscriber...**THE FOURTEENTH EDITION** of the *Chicago Manual of Style* is now at your neighborhood bookstore. A page turner it isn't, but it's what we use...**IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY** as to whether *AJ* will consider the use of illustrations, the answer is yes. Suggest this when you submit a manuscript, if you wish. Authors are responsible for securing copyright permission, in writing...**SELECTED BACK ISSUES of AJ** are available. They include: Volume 7, Number 1, Winter 1990; Volume 7, Number 2, Spring, 1990; Volume 7, Number 4, Fall, 1990; Volume 8, Number 1, Winter, 1991; Volume 8, Number 2, Spring/Summer 1991; Volume 8, Number 4, Fall, 1991. The cost is $5 per issue for addresses in the United States, $7.50 overseas. Send your needs and check to the editor, made out to the AJHA....

Things That Speak to the Eye: The Photographs of *Charities*, 1897-1909

By Beverly M. Bethune

With photographs by Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, and others, a pioneering social work journal established the visual image as a tool of the Progressive reform century social documentary photography.

Shortly before the turn of the twentieth century, the New York Charity Organization Society (COS) established a weekly journal and newsletter called *Charities*. For the next decade and a half, the publication pioneered in both social welfare journalism and social documentary photography.

It brought together the work of Jacob Riis, journalist, writer, social reformer, and photographer, and Lewis Hine, at that time a sociologist and budding photographer, as well as lesser-known authors and photographers. It regularly published articles and photographs demonstrating the needs of society and accomplishments of the emerging social welfare movement of the Progressive Era.

The development of social documentary photography[1] – from a banal group portrait of charity recipients and a meaningless photograph of an institutional building to Hine's powerful, action-compelling images of children at work in factories, mines, and mills – can be traced in the pages of *Charities*.

1. For a discussion of the history of social documentary photography, see *Documentary Photograph* (New York: Time-Life Books Inc., 1973); Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964); and William Sott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

IN THIS NUMBER:

THE SUPPRESSION OF MENDICANCY

CHARITIES

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The former "boss" of an organized band of beggars. He served his sentence, and through the Charity Organization Society he will be given a new start in life. During the fuel shortage in New York City he has worked hard at the city dumps working up wood for the poor.

Three Meetings of Interest.

Three public meetings of special interest are announced by the Charity Organization Societies of New York, Baltimore, and Buffalo, respectively. In Baltimore the meeting is a joint one with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

On November 17 the New York Society celebrates its Twentieth Anniversary, in a public meeting of which the keynote is "Co-operation with the Several Departments of the Municipal Government." The principal address will be delivered by Mayor Seth Low, and brief addresses will be made by the Hon.

USE OF PHOTOGRAPHY in *Charities* began to increase in 1902, with an occasional photo on page one. The issue above is for 15 November 1902; the one-column photo is of a former beggar. The New York Charity Organization Society gave him a new start, helping find fuel for the poor.

Research in social documentary photography has examined the work of Riis,[2] Hine[3] and others, such as John Thomson,[4] David Octavius Hill[5] and the Farm Security Administration photographers.[6] This article will center on a particular medium's use of social documentary photography, exploring the photographs of *Charities* both as to their content and their relationship to the printed page. The purpose is to provide a better understanding of the beginning of social documentary as a genre in journalism and the significance of *Charities* itself in photojournalism history.

Under several names the magazine had a long life, dying as *The Survey* in 1952. Examination here will be confined to its formative years, 1897-1909, in which the journal carried the name *Charities* and then *Charities and The Commons*,[7] and in which the photograph became an established form of persuasive communication on its pages.

That time period divides into three parts: 1897-1902, the earliest years; 1902-1907, changes under a new editor; and 1907-1909, the reshaping of the magazine by the Pittsburgh Survey.

The Earliest Years – 1897-1902

The New York Charity Organization Society was created in the early 1880s by the New York State Board of Charities as "a special committee to inaugurate a system of mutual help and cooperation" among the many independent charitable societies operating in New York City.[8]

Like other volunteer philanthropic organizations in Boston and Chicago, the COS founded a newsletter of welfare activities for the agencies with which it worked. This was *The Charities Review*, a scholarly journal that soon merged with its Boston counterpart, *Lend a Hand*. Still needed, however, was a less academic, more practical publication of advice and information. When a young economics professor, Edward T. Devine, was hired in 1896 as COS secretary, one of his duties was to create and edit such a journal. A year later, in December 1897 the first issue of *Charities* appeared.[9]

A monthly for the first year, *Charities* was thereafter issued weekly. Its subscription price was $1 a year and increased to $2 when *The Charities Review* became a monthly issue of *Charities* in 1901. Its pages varied in number from

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2. For complete biographies of Riis in his many-faceted career, see James B. Lane, *Jacob Riis and the American City* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kenniket Press 1974) and Louise Ware, *Jacob Riis: Photographer & Citizen* (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1974).
3. See Judith Mara Gutman, *Lewis W. Hine and the American Social Conscience* (New York: Walker and Co., 1967) and Walter Rosenbum, Naomi Rosenblum, and Alan Trachtenberg, *America and Lewis Hine* (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1977).
4. Newhall, 139.
5. Ibid.
6. See Stott. Also Richard Dyer MacCann, *The People's Films* (New York: Hastings House, 1973).
7. For expediency, the journal will be called *Charities* through this article.
8. Edward T. Devine, *When Social Work Was Young* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), 23.
9. For most of the early history history of Charities, unless otherwise cited, I am indebted to Clarke A. Chambers, *Paul U. Kellogg and the Survey* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971).

twenty to a hundred or more per issue; each was 6 3/4 inches wide by 9 1/2 inches long.

For the most part, *Charities* was a newsletter similar to those published by organizations today. It contained articles on the activities of various social welfare agencies in the city and other parts of the country, on meetings and speeches, on classes and on experiences of case workers. Also included were book reviews, calendars and editorials. Circulation figures were small, never reaching more than 2,500 in this time period, even after *The Charities Review* was absorbed. Subscribers, however, were actively engaged in philanthropy and social work, and the COS membership listed some of the most prominent and wealthy people in the city.

There were few indications in the early issues that *Charities* would be an innovator in social welfare journalism. Both its name and its content reflected prevailing attitudes toward philanthropy. Clarke Chambers, biographer of one of *Charities*' editors, said:

> [*Charities*']first issues rolled out the old rationale for charity organization which had been around for half a century: indiscriminate alms-giving was a drain on limited community resources and a source of moral disintegration for the recipients; to provide support for destitute families required a careful, scientific investigation of all the circumstances which had led to the awful condition of dependency.[10]

Emphasis, then, was on the problems of individuals or small groups of people, rather than on the larger problems of society that had created the problems, and on relatively small scale projects undertaken to solve the problems.

Charities' earliest use of photography was equally unimpressive. The first photograph appeared in the 10 June 1899 issue, and it was a smudgy group shot of fifty or so people, mostly women and children, lined up in three rows outside a two-story house and staring grimly at the camera.[11] There was no announcement of the fact that it was the first photograph; in fact, there was no word about the photograph at all: no cutline, no credit line for the photographer and no reference to it within the text of the accompanying article. Outlined with heavy black rule, the photograph was 3 1/2 inches wide by 2/12 inches deep, so small one needs a magnifying glass to see individual figures even somewhat clearly. The image illustrated an article entitled "Edgewater Creche,"[12] which announced the opening of the creche for day visits of poor mothers with infants and small children, providing them with escape from the summer heat in the tenements. The COS and other charitable societies provided the mothers with free ferry tickets to the nursery, located on the west side of the Hudson River opposite Grant's Tomb.

However poor the photograph, it points out two of *Charities*' attitudes toward photography which would prevail in these earliest years. First, a photograph was intended to illustrate the words of the text, not to make its own

10. Chambers, 8.
11. *Charities*, 10 June 1899, 10.
12. "Creche" was used here in the British sense of "daynursery."

statement nor to be admired for its esthetic qualities. Although cutlines would soon be added, they were mere titles. Who made the photograph was so unimportant that the photographer was almost never identified. Not until Lewis Hine came to the staff were photographs allowed occasionally to dominate and set the pace of an article.

Second, the surroundings of the individuals photographed were more significant within the photograph than the individuals themselves. The purpose of charitable work was to improve the immediate surroundings of the individual, and much of the photographic emphasis in the earliest years was on the results of such improvement.

Charities' incessant use of photographs of the facades of large buildings in which charitable work was taking place is an extreme example of this attitude toward environment.[13] But it can also be found in photographs of people at work in which most of them have their backs to the camera or are so far from the camera that they are unrecognizable, or in photographs run so small that nothing can be discerned but a vague impression of surroundings.

Photographs did not immediately proliferate in the pages of *Charities*, and they were never run consistently during this period. A month after the creche photograph, two shots of Seward Park illustrated an article on the Outdoor Recreation League, which operated three city playgrounds.[14] More interesting because it was unposed and larger, each photograph is centered on the page with the article's text above and below it, and titles have been added. Although the photographer is not credited, Jacob Riis took photographs at Seward park, and these may have been his.[15] Four more playground photographs accompanied an update article two years later.[16]

The two photographs published in September 1900 with an article on the history of a building made into a COS laundry, are particularly illustrative of the two attitudes of *Charities* toward photography discussed above. One was a full-page image of a five-story building at the left of the frame and a woodyard glimpsed down an open driveway on the right. Two small children and a dog are barely visible on the sidewalk beside the front steps. The other photograph, also full-page, shows several men working in the woodyard, one in profile and the rest from the rear.[17]

Placement of a photograph on *Charities'* page followed no set rules. While the bottom of the frame of the full-page photograph discussed above faced the outer edge of the page, from time to time the layout would be reversed and the photograph would face the gutter of the magazine.[18] Cutlines were usually run in normal fashion – that is, beneath the bottom of the photograph no matter how the photograph might be turned on the page. But occasionally the photograph would be run sideways and the cutline should remain horizontal,

13. See, for example, "The Lewis Memorial Cottage, The Seaside Hospital of St. John's Guild at New Dorf, Staten Island," *Charities*, 5 October, 1901, 280.
14. *Charities*, 12 August 1899, 2, 3.
15. See the Jacob A. Riis Collection of the Museum of the City of New York.
16. *Charities*, 4 May 1901, 387, 388, 391, 392.
17. *Charities*, 22 September 1900, 4, 5.
18. For example, see *Charities*, 20 December 1902, 623.

INSIDE A SOUTHERN MILL: This photo was taken at the Daniel Manufacturing Company, Lincolnton, North Carolina. The cutline: "Six years old. Stays all day in the mill where his mother and sister work. Is beginning to 'help' a little and probably soon be regularly at work, though his name may not appear on the payroll."

following the type of the text. When the photograph was only one column, the arrangement was even more awkward.[19]

A shift in *Charities'* perspective on social welfare took place with its involvement in tenement reform. The COS Tenement-House Committee was formed in 1898 to obtain municipal legislative action on tenement conditions. They launched a massive public education campaign, using press releases, photographs, public meetings, sermons, legislative committees, editorials and a public Tenement-House Exhibitions of photographs and documents.[20] The campaign provided photographs of a different emphasis for *Charities*. Rather than showing what had been done for the needy, the photographs accompanying housing articles frequently demonstrated what needed to be done. For example, with excerpts from the report of the New York Tenement-House Commission of 1900 was a photograph with cutline, "Why Sanitary Inspection Is Necessary." Pictured was a cellar with steps and floor covered with trash and filth.[21]

The merger with the scholarly *Charities Review* broadened the scope of *Charities* and strengthened its shift in perspective. Articles in the monthly issue

19. For example, see *Charities*, 7 December 1901, 497.
20. "The Tenement-House Exhibit," *Charities*, 10 February 1900, 1-2; untitled, *Charities*, 17 February 1900, 1-3, 18-19.
21. *Charities*, 2 March 1901, 202.

were longer, more thoughtful, and more analytical than those in the weekly issues, and their thrust was often toward preventive social action.

Although the articles of *Charities* did not usually discuss their accompanying photographs, an exception was "Summer Philanthropy," a survey of philanthropic groups known as fresh air agencies, which provided outdoor experiences away from the city for tenement families in six metropolitan areas.[22] The writer said, "The cuts on pages 280 and 282 [photographs of a pavilion and a small hospital building respectively] exhibit types of institutional summer homes for children. . . . The illustration on page 286 shows the high water mark of fresh air charity."[23] There seems to have been no pun intended, although the title of the photograph on page 286 was "Salt Water Baths, St. John's Guild Floating Hospital." Pictured were a number of women bending over tubs and bathing their children; others sat with naked children wrapped in towels, waiting their turn. Of all the photographs published in these years, why the magazine chose to comment on salt water baths and two photographs of buildings is not evident. Certainly there was a growing awareness of photography toward the end of this time period. But from 7 December 1901 to 1 November 1902, not a single photograph appeared in *Charities*.

Changes Under a New Editor – 1902-1907

Changes in welfare trends and changes in *Charities* were already under way when Paul U. Kellogg arrived in New York in 1901. He was a young Midwestern newspaper reporter who came East to study at Columbia University. In a six-week summer course in philanthropy sponsored by the COS the following year, he caught the attention of Edward Devine, who offered him a position as assistant editor of *Charities*. Kellogg's association with the magazine would continue for fifty years.

The new assistant editor and his brother, Arthur, who soon joined him on the staff, brought youthful energy and innovation to *Charities*. The appearance of the journal changed: more photographs and illustrations were used, a more readable type was introduced and layouts were more varied and often more attractive. New departments were added, and new kinds of features appeared. Increasingly, preventive social action was stressed.

Photographs in this time period began to multiply in late 1902, both in number per issue and number per article. For example, in the 15 November 1902, issue, there were only six photographs, all related to the issue's theme, mendicancy. By 7 July 1906, there were thirty-four photographs in the issue, most related to its municipal park theme, but some on topics in other articles as well. Ten photographs accompanied one article, "First Fruits of Municipal Experiment," which appeared in the 2 May 1903, issue.[24]

The greatest number of photographs were usually saved for the *Charities Review* issues, the expanded version of the magazine published on the first Sunday of the month. The 7 April 1906 issue, for instance, was devoted primarily to public health, and, by *Charities*' standards at that time, was lavishly illustrated with twenty-eight photographs.

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22. "Summer Philanthropy," *Charities*, 5 October 1901, 279-288.
23. *Charities*, 5 October 1901, 283.
24. "First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," *Charities*, 2 May 1903, 425-431.

Occasionally a photograph appeared on the first page of the journal as a cover illustration, although, in the issues examined for this study, it was usually rather small.[25] The first such cover photograph was carried in the 1902 mendicancy issue and was a one-column cut of a former beggar working at a woodchopping job the COS had obtained for him.[26]

On 10 January 1903 another of the building photographs was on the first page, labeled, "Amusement Hall, Metropolitan Hospital."[27] And on the 11 April 1903 front page was a photograph of two young boys sleeping on a grubby basement floor. It was entitled, "Buffalo Newsboys of Twelve and Thirteen Years."[28] These first page photographs were not run regularly, and the device was soon abandoned. Except for the last mentioned of the three above, the photographs had no visual impact. They may simply have been part of Kellogg's experimentation with the magazine's format.

In spite of *Charities*' improvement, its photographs continued on occasion to be inane in content or poor in technical quality. However, emphasis in the magazine increasingly was on investigative and preventive social work, and the content of the photographs increasingly reflected that emphasis. Passage of child labor laws was a growing interest at this time, as illustrated by articles on newsboys which appeared in March and April 1903.

The first, "Child Laborers of the Street – The New York Bills," carried with it a photograph of two small boys, probably newsboys, curled up together and asleep next to a flight of steps. The cutlines read: "Taken by Ernest Poole, at 2 a.m., November 25, 1902, on a street near Newspaper Row." Poole was a social worker at New York City's University Settlement.[29]

The second article, "What of the Newsboy of the Second Cities?" said Buffalo claimed conditions in New York City were different from those in Buffalo and therefore Buffalo should be exempt from child labor laws being urged for the state. The author took the opposite view. Investigative photographs from Buffalo included "Buffalos Newsboys of Twelve and Thirteen Years," discussed above as a cover photograph, and a group shot of five young boys looking into the camera, with a cutline reading, "Lafayette Square, Buffalo, March 20, 1903. Ages six, and seven years."[30]

Later that year, *Charities* published another child labor article, "A Boy-Destroying Trade," by Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers League and social activist. She discussed employment of very young boys in the glass bottle industry, and a large, clear photograph with the

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25. Devine says (106), "*The Charities Review* number was distinguished from other weekly issues by having a cover." Lewis Hine's cataloguers refer to several of his photographs as having been on the cover of *Charities*. However, none of the issues I examined at the University of Georgia Library, the New York Public Library and the Social Welfare History Archives at the University of Minnesota was bound with a cover. Therefore, no cover photographs are discussed in this article except the type mentioned here.
26. *Charities*, 15 November 1902, 469.
27. *Charities*, 10 January 1903, 45.
28. *Charities*, 11 April 1903, 361.
29. *Charities*, 7 March 1903, 206.
30. *Charities*, 11 April 1903, 361, 370.

cutline, "In a Glass Bottle Factory in Alton, Ill.," showed one of those boys at work.[31]

Ten photographs accompanying "First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," mentioned above, were all investigative photographs, and all depicted squalid tenement living conditions. One photograph, of an Elizabeth Street tenement yard, appears in the Dover edition of Jacob Riis's book, *How the Other Half Lives*.[32]

Charities' use of cutlines, as has been seen, began with no use at all. But as photographs became more important to the format, the editor added a one-line label, then a one-line label plus a one-line sub-label, and then in some cases a paragraph of many lines of agate type giving details about the image. For example, the caption with "Buffalo Newsboys of Twelve and Thirteen Years" is ten lines long, two columns wide. It reads, in part:

> Taken at 2 a.m., March 26, 1903, in the cellar of a Buffalo newspaper office. When an employee of the office learned that a photograph had been taken of the boys, he tried to break the camera. From ten to twenty boys of all ages sleep on the tables of this room until 3 a.m. when they go out to sell the morning editions. The young man who stood by rolling papers remarked to the investigator of the Buffalo COS that he "did not see how the little beasts lived because they slept there almost every night."

The cutlines then discuss the progress of child labor legislation in New York at that time.[33]

As more photographs were incorporated into the magazine, Kellogg experimented with their layout. Photographs sometimes would be laid out one on top of the other, as in "First Fruits of a Municipal Experiment," with white space between each image and a single caption of several lines at the bottom of the page.[34] Visually, that arrangement worked fairly well, but in a 1904 article, "A New Departure in Summer Outing," three photographs were placed one on top of the other with no space in between and a heavy rule drawn around the perimeter of the three images. Entitled, "Some Scenes at Valley Farm," the subject matter runs together in a visual mess.[35]

Decorative rules, mortises and artwork sometimes appeared on photo pages, usually with poor results. In a layout for "'A Western Newspaper and Its Newsboys" in 1907, photographs overlapped and were in rectangular and circular shapes with borders drawn around them. An artist had sketched smoke coming from the smokestack of a train engine in one photograph and water flowing out of a swimming pool in another. Both smoke and water spilled into the white

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31. *Charities*, 4 August 1903, 16.
32. Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971),
33. The photograph appears in *Charities*, 2 May 1903, 424.
33 *Charities*, 11 April 1903, 361.
34. *Charities*, 2 May 1903, 426 and 428.
35. *Charities*, 24 September 1904, 956.

space of the layout. Fortunately, such extravagant graphics were not often used.[36]

More interesting was a foldout photograph of a panoramic scene of Ogden Park in Chicago, published in the 3 August 1907 issue. Labeled "The Chicago Play Festival," the photograph accompanied an article entitled, "How They Played at Chicago." The photographer had caught a sweeping view of four thousand spectators gathered at the sixty-acre park to watch hundreds of schoolchildren and adults taking part in games and dances at the first convention of the Playground Association of America.[37]

In 1903, *Charities*' first photographic essay appeared, described in an accompanying article, "A Photographer East of the Bowery."[38] The photographs were not social documentary photographs in the sense of their seeking to persuade the reader to take social action. Conversely they sought to capture the status quo, the article lamenting changes already taking place in the distinctive and colorful Lower East Side of Manhattan as families became more prosperous and moved from the area. As documentary photographs of high quality, however, these pictures were important in focusing the attention of *Charities*' readers on the significance and nature of the photographic image. Taken by members of the Camera Club of New York, they were reprinted from the club's publication, *Camera Notes*. These fourteen photographs are the best that had appeared in *Charities* to that time. Unposed, well-composed street scenes of the Lower East Side, they portray shawled women, derby-hatted men and occasionally young children standing on street corners, talking to each other, buying fish and produce from sidewalk carts and hawking their wares. The article said that writer Sidney Allan had observed in *Camera Notes* that artists had neglected the ghetto and had "suggested that perhaps the photographer will be the first, from an esthetic standpoint, to conquer it."[39]

In early 1907, the first *Charities* photographs which Lewis Hine's cataloguers have credited to him appeared.[40] Nine photographs accompanied an article, "The Newsboy at Night in Philadelphia," by Philadelphia social worker Scott Nearing, and they presaged Hine's photographic technique for the rest of his career. Singly or in groups, young newsboys were lined up before Hine's camera and stared into it, peering at the reader with what seems a mixture of pain and bravado. The caption with a picture of a small boy with closed eyes and another boy with his back to the camera was, "Me face? Not on yer life, you don't git me face!"[41] All the photographs were made with flash between 2 and 4 a.m. Although Nearing discussed the making of the photographs, he did not identify the photographer as Hine.

In 1905, *Charities* merged with still another publication, *The Commons*, national organ of the settlement movement, and acquired its name, becoming *Charities and The Commons*. A later merger with *Jewish Charity*,

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36. *Charities*, 5 October 1907, 802.
37. *Charities*, 3 August 1907. The pages of the photographs are not numbered. They are inserted between pages 470 and 471.
38. "A Photographer East of the Bowery," *Charities*, 4 April 1903, 344-349.
39. Ibid., 345.
40. See Rosenblum, Rosenblum, and Trachtenberg.
41. *Charities*, 2 February 1907, 784.

newsletter of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, boosted circulation to six thousand readers.[42]

Also acquired from *The Commons* were its staff of prominent writers and their settlement point of view, which emphasized economic justice and industrial reform. *Charities* was now more than a news medium, it was a reformer's tool. This was particularly true of the special issues which were devoted to articles on a single topic, such as immigration, explored in depth in issues throughout 1904, and "The Negro in the Cities of the North" examined in 1905. These issues were designed to educate and bring about social change and were accompanied by photographs having the same purposes.

And one group of special issues, "The Pittsburgh Survey," would change the name and the face of the magazine.

Reshaping by the Pittsburgh Survey – 1907-1909

1907 was a landmark year for *Charities*. That year a group of concerned citizens in Pittsburgh asked the COS to do a complete analysis of social conditions in that city.[43] The COS National Publications Committee, of which Jacob Riis was still a member, appointed Paul Kellogg to direct the study.

Leaving his brother, Arthur, to edit *Charities*, Paul Kellogg and his small staff went to Pittsburgh expecting to be finished with their task in three months. Two preliminary articles from the Pittsburgh Survey were published in the 7 March 1908 issue of *Charities*, along with an article summarizing the intent of the investigation. "To get at the facts in the whole of living and social conditions of an American industrial center" was their aim, the latter article said. Since Pittsburgh was "the social expression of one of the few master industries of the country," *Charities* felt a diagnosis of the elements of one such community should have common elements in all.[44]

Although Lewis Hine was not named on the article's accompanying list entitled "Colleagues in the Field Work,"[45] both Clarke Chambers and Hine's biographer, Judith Mara Gutman, say he was hired as a staff photographer for *Charities* and for the Pittsburgh Survey that year.[46] The work of other photographers probably appeared in *Charities*, including those issues devoted to the Pittsburgh Survey, but none was identified, and those photographs known to be Hine's predominated in the Survey issues.

Three of his photographs appear with one of the March preliminary articles, "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsburgh," by F. Elizabeth Crowell.[47] Hine's cataloguers credit him with photographs for two other preliminary

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42. Survey Associates Papers, "Subscription Statement by Business Manager" in a memorandum dated 27 July 1906: "The merging of *Charities*, *The Commons* and *Jewish Charitiy* brought together, in order, net paid subscription lists of 4,000, 1,400 and 100, a total of 5,500. Since that time 2,000 new subscriptions have been secured, making a total of 7,500. Discontinuances have reduced this to 6,000 (in round numbers)."

43. Chambers, 33-34.

44. "The Pittsburgh Survey of the National Publications Committee of *Charities and the Commons*," *Charities*, 7 March 1908, 1665.

45. "Colleagues in the Field Work," *Charities*, 7 March 1908, 1666.

46. Chambers, 36; Gutman, 18.

47. F. Elizabeth Crowell, "What Bad Housing Means to Pittsbrugh," *Charities*, 7 March 1908, 1683-1698.

articles, "Pittsburgh's Steam Laundry Workers" and "Pittsburgh's Women in the Metal Trades," both by Elizabeth Beardsley Butler. They appeared in summer and early fall 1908 *Charity* issues. The two photographs for the latter article were simply long shots of women working in large factories.[48] Photographs for the laundry article are more interesting. Butler had noted a hierarchy in the laundry, with the mangle and starch workers at the bottom of the social ladder, the sorters ("more religious" and "more skilled") next highest. Hine posed the mangle and starch women in the doorway of their laundry and put the others in the windows of the second floor. Of the checker, "aristocrat among laundry workers," he made a closeup portrait.[49]

The Pittsburgh Survey was presented in early 1909, preempting three issues: 2 January, "The People"; 6 February, "The Place and Its Social Forces"; and 6 March, "The Work." Later the entire Survey was published in six separate bound volumes. Twenty-eight Hine photographs appeared in the first *Charities'* Survey issue. With "The Working Women of Pittsburgh by Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, who summarized her previously published work, Hine had eight photographs.[50] A photo essay, "Immigrant Types in the Steel District," presented seven of his portraits of steelworkers and one group of six workers.[51] Twelve more photographs accompanied "Homestead – A Steel Town and Its People" by Margaret F. Byington. They were largely landscape shots, unusual for Hine, who was more interested in people.

Thirty-five Hine photographs appeared in the February issue. Most were images of various section of Pittsburgh and its inhabitants. Inconsistent credit lines in the final Survey issue make it impossible to determine how many of the photographs published there were actually Hine's.

Even as the Pittsburgh Survey data were being analyzed and readied for print, Hine's photographs from other investigations were appearing in *Charities*. In fall, 1908, a group of three Hine photographs was published. It was his first photo essay for the magazine, preceding the one on the steelworkers mentioned above, and it was the first photo essay of any kind that *Charities* ran without an accompanying article – the first photographs that made their own statement. Printed on slick paper, one to a sheet, they were titled, "As They Come to Ellis Island," the words appearing within the frame of the first photograph. "Photographs by Lewis W. Hine" is in italics at the bottom of the page.[52]

Below the title are two smiling, round-faced women with kerchiefs around their heads, and below their figures is the caption, "The Slavs." Next, captioned "The Germans," is a group shot, mostly of immigrant children. Third,

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48. Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "Pittsburgh Women in the Metal Trades," *Charities*, 3 October 1908, 34-47.

49. Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "Pittsburgh's Steam Laundry Workers," *Charities*, 1 August 1908, 549-563. The photographs are on 549, 553, and 557.

50. Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, "The Working Women of Pittsburgh," *Charities*, 2 January 1909, 570-580.

51. Lewis W. Hine, "Immigrant Types in the Steel District" (photo essay), *Charities*, 2 January 1909, 612-628.

52. Margaret F. Byington, "Homestead – A Steel Town and Its People," *Charities*, 2 January 1909, 612-628.

"From Bohemia," is a young woman in a long black dress and dark kerchief, sitting asleep on a bench.[53]

In November 1908 Hine went to Charlotte, North Carolina, photographing in the cotton mills of the surrounding area for the National Child Labor Committee. A winter 1909 *Charities* issue carried an article, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," which described Hine's experience and those of other NCLC investigators. With the article are twenty-seven Hine photographs taken on his North Carolina trip; they would become some of his most famous ones.[54]

Hine went on to take many more photographs for Kellogg's magazine and others. *Charities*, too, would go on to other investigations, but none would have as profound an impact as the Pittsburgh Survey. The three months Kellog had allotted to the investigation turned into eighteen months. The Survey was a vast undertaking, far beyond what anyone at *Charities* or at any other such publication had previously attempted. Kellogg's staff had not started out to break with tradition, but he later wrote:

> When we launched the Pittsburgh Survey back in 1907-08, we broke with the old stereotypes of social and economic investigations. We reinforced our text with things that spoke to the eye – drawing in charts, maps and designs from the engineers; and employed not only photographs but pastels – even sculpture.[55]

Chambers points out the Survey's impact on reform movements and on social research, but its most evident impact, he says, was on the magazine itself. "After Pittsburgh, the old *Charities and the* [sic] *Commons* had to be recast – in name, in concept, in style, in quality – not from scratch, to be sure, for many precedents in welfare journalism were firmly grounded by 1909. . . . But 1909 marked the beginning of a new departure."[56]

In April, 1909, *Charities and The Commons* became *The Survey*, discarding a name which had long irritated readers with its connotations of condescension and which no longer represented the philosophical stance of the magazine or of the social welfare movement. In an article discussing the name change, the magazine noted a loss of subscribers because of objections to the name and quoted from a number of readers who felt the name to be handicap. The article told of a *Charities* staffer who was looking into a strike in a small city and was given a "quietly friendly tip" by local newspaper editors and labor leaders "that if he talked charity to the strikers he would be booted out of town –it was not charity they wanted, these men said, they were in no need of gifts." Some editors were even referring to "that excellent but misnamed journal *Charities and The Commons*."[57] The editor promised that "Only the name is

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53. Lewis W. Hine, "As They Come to Ellis Island" (photo essay), *Charities*, 5 September 1908, 645, 646, 647.
54. A.J. McKelway, "Child Labor in the Carolinas," *Charities*, 30 January 1909, 743-757.
55. Survey Associates Papers, Paul U. Kellogg to Arthur E. Morgan, 10 July 1933.
56. Chambers, 40.
57. "To Change the Name of Charities and The Commons," *Charities*, 27 March 1909, 1251-1254.

changed," but there would be many more changes before the magazine died in 1952.[58]

Conclusions

This article examined the photographs of *Charities* to learn more about the early development of social documentary photography and the significance of the COS newsletter in that development. The earliest photographs of *Charities* usually emphasized results of organized charity work, as seen in images of the creche, the COS laundry and woodyard, city parks, and salt baths. Emphasis was on small groups of people – beggars, neighborhood unemployed, poor mothers, anyone needing help who might turn up on a charity worker's doorstep.

A shift from this emphasis took place with the tenement-house campaign, which depicted the squalor of the slums in an effort to pass housing laws. Thereafter, the camera increasingly tended to show situations that called for organized help, and the photographs were meant to persuade the viewer to take action to bring about change. This persuasive intent remains a characteristic of social documentary photography today.

The tenement-house campaign tended to focus attention on the home environment, sanitation problems, overcrowding, lack of ventilation, etc. Emphasis here began to change to portrayal of the work environment with the magazine's exploration of the plight of the newsboy and thence to the issue of child labor itself, climaxed by the Pittsburgh Survey covering all types of labor issues.

Following the trend in social work toward social science, *Charities* began to probe, in its special issues, the larger, long-term problems of society that caused the difficulties of smaller groups of people: immigration, unbridled capitalism, child labor and others. With the Pittsburgh Survey, the magazine initiated a systematic identification of social ills, particularly in the workplace, Its photographs were a part of that thrust. The photographs of the Farm Security Administration photographers, for example, played a similar role in the Roosevelt administration's approach to farm problems thirty years later.

In its use of photographs, *Charities* made several contributions to the development of both photography per se and social documentary photojournalism.

First, it gave significance to the photograph. In a word-oriented society, the picture had little status. To win a place in the discussion of social reform, the visual image had to be enhanced. *Charities* accomplished the enhancement in a number of ways. It ran an increasing number of photographs over the years, so that it was not unusual for the Pittsburgh Survey issues to contain forty or more photographs. Most major articles were accompanied by photographs.

The size of the photographs, an indicator of importance, grew from postage-stamp dimensions in early years to full and half pages in which the subjects were seen clearly and in detail. The addition of cutlines allowed the

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58. In "A Year Under a New Name" the second volume of a pamphlet, "A Statement by the Editors in Behalf of *Charities* Publication Committtee," 41(Survey Associates Papers), the editors said, "The month following the change of name of the magazine 1,000 new subscribers were added to our lists." By the end of that year, total subscribers, according to the pamphlet, were twelve thousand, a five thousand gain in one year.

prestigious word to recognize the image and grounded the photograph in its subject matter. Use of the photographer's creditline bonded artist to work, giving greater significance to both. Although creditlines were seldom used in these early years, credits for his *Charities* photographs certainly contributed to Lewis Hine's being "well-known to readers of *Charities* by his photographs of social conditions in New York City and elsewhere"[59] only a short time after he had become a professional photographer.

Charities' occasional use of unusual photographs such as the foldout panorama of the Chicago Play Festival and the New York Camera Club's essay on the Lower East Side added interest and significance to the photograph. And its use of Hine's portraits of Ellis Island immigrants and Pittsburgh steelworkers, accompanied by only the briefest of labels, allowed the photographs to become statements in themselves. The photograph was no longer illustration, It was all.

Second, in addition to enhancing the visual image and the image-maker, especially in relation to the written word, *Charities* posited the photograph as an objective, truthful means of communication. Charities' readers knew photographs could be manipulated; the pictorialists had demonstrated this fact. Yet Florence Kelley, on the page of *Charities* adjacent to the "Child Labor in the Carolinas" article, said, "The camera is convincing. Where records fail and parents forswear themselves, the measuring rod and the camera carry conviction."[60] The author of "Child Labor in the Carolinas" said, "The pictures tell their own story."[61] To be successful in its persuasion, the social documentary photograph must be believed, and such statements as those above strengthened the credence of *Charities*' photographs. The association of such prominent citizens as Jane Addams, William Guggenheim, Jacob Riis and others who were members of the COS Publications Committee with the magazine also increased readers' trust.[62]

Finally, *Charities* gave the photograph a noble purpose which social documentary photography has never lost. The magazine existed as a newsletter addressed to people interested and engaged in the welfare of others. As it beganthe investigation of deeper and more complex social problems, it established photography as a tool to expose those ills and persuade its readers to change society for the better.

In moving toward exposure and persuasiveness, *Charities* found that "things that spoke to the eye" were as effective as words.

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59. McKelway, 743.
60. Florence Kelley, "Child Labor," *Charities*, 30 January 1909, 742.
61. McKelway, 744.
62. "Charities Publication Committee," *Charities and The Commons* Index for Volume 21, October 1908 – April 1909.

'A Receipt Against the PLAGUE': Medical Reporting in Colonial America

By David A. Copeland

Staying abreast of disease outbreaks and potential cures was of vital concern to eighteenth-century Americans. America's newspapers led the way in keeping citizens informed by publishing news of epidemics and medical advancements.

In the winter of 1760, a smallpox epidemic raged through the South Carolina colony. Each week, the *South-Carolina Gazette* reported new outbreaks of the oft-fatal disease. But in the 23 February 1760 edition, printer Peter Timothy offered his readership more than a table of smallpox deaths for the colony; he presented them with "A Receipt against the PLAGUE," a concoction of "rub, sage, mint, rosemary, wormwood, and lavender," combined in "white-wine vinegar." The resulting elixir was guaranteed by four convicts going to the gallows to protect the user from smallpox.[1]

The *Gazette*'s cure for smallpox is but one example of the many medical remedies presented in colonial newspapers. In an age where bleeding and drawing blisters behind the ears were common prescriptions for maladies, the newspapers offered various cures for their readers to use to heal an assortment of diseases. In addition, the local newspapers kept their readers informed of outbreaks of diseases and described the latest medical breakthroughs made in Europe and America.

This article looks at the treatment of medical news in colonial newspapers.[2] Through reports of various medical treatments, news of outbreaks

1. *South-Carolina Gazette*, 23 February 1760, 2. The table of smallpox deaths appeared in the *Gazette* on 16 February 1760, 1.

2. Appproximately 7,400 issues of colonial newspapers available on microfilm were ready for this study. All extant newspaper issues prior to 1720 were read, and from

of disease, and news of assorted scientific discoveries, the colonial newspapers entered the battle to eliminate certain maladies and physical shortcomings that tormented the eighteenth-century citizen. Diseases and their cures, therefore, were very much a concern of colonial society, and newspapers served a vital function in the dissemination of timely information to a public waiting to know how to treat certain maladies.

Medical news found a place in American newspapers from their inception. Benjamin Harris in *Publick Occurrences* related that "Epidemical Fevers and Agues grow common."[3] *Publick Occurrences*' report of smallpox "raging in Boston" was only the first of numerous newspaper accounts of the disease in America. Harris, in comparing the 1690 outbreak to the one in 1678 and listing the death toll for the latest outbreak, established a prototype for disease outbreak reports that followed in the eighteenth century.[4]

Sidney Kobre in *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* noted that news of disease appeared in *Publick Occurrences* and the *Boston News-Letter* because it was of local importance.[5] But Kobre says little else of medical news in the colonial newspapers.[6] Discussions of the 1721 Boston inoculation controversy by William David Sloan and C. Edward Wilson provide the basic media history literature that focuses upon disease and the colonial media.[7] The issue is also discussed in media history texts by Frederic Hudson; James Melvin Lee; Willard Bleyer Frank Luther Mott; Edwin and Michael Emery; William David Sloan, James Stovall and James Startt; and Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter.[8] The focus of these discussions is not medical news, but the pro- and

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1720-1775, newspapers were read in five-year increments, 1720, 1725, and so on. Every extant, available newspaper edition printed in the years studied from 1720-1755 was read. From 1760-1775, the large number of newspapers and total editions necessitated sampling. A method of selecting newspaper was devised that ensured a low sampling error, less than 4 percent, meaning less than four chances in one hundred existed for missing a news item dealing with disease and medicine. More than two thousand newspapers were read for the years 1760-1775 or 500 to 600 for each year of the study. Even though sampling was used, sampling was not involved in reading the newspapers; they were ready in their entirety to discover news concerning disease and medicine. Sampling figures based on Donald P. Warwick and Charles A. Linger, *The Sample Survey: Theory and Practice* (New York:McGraw-Hill, 1975), 93.

3. *Publick Occurences*, 25 September 1690, 1.

4. Ibid., 1-2.

5. (1944; reprint, Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 14-15, 21.

6. Kobre discusses the inoculation controversy of 1721 that took place in Boston. Ibid., 31-32.

7. William David Sloan, "The New England Courant: Voice of Anglicanism," *American Journalism* 8 (1991) 108-41; and C. Edward Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," *Journalism History* 7 (Spring 1980): 16-19, 40.

8. Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690-1872* (New York:Haper & Brothers, 1873), 67-68; James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism*, 2nd ed. (Garden City , N.Y.: Garden City Publishing, 1923), 29; Willard Grosevenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), 53; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1962), 16-19; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 198), 25; William David Sloan, James D. Startt, and James G. Stovall, *The Media in America: A History*, 2nd ed.

anti-inoculation forces that waged a war of words in the *New-England Courant* and *Boston News-Letter* in 1721.

Closer to a study of medical news that appeared in colonial newspapers is a 1953 medical history by John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America.* In it, he consulted colonial newspapers to demonstrate the effect of diseases on colonial development. Duffy's purpose, however, was to ascertain which diseases were present in the colonial period and then to discuss them in order of importance.[9]

Medical news was never the most prominent type of information in colonial newspapers, but it was, nonetheless, one of the most vital types of news. Newspaper printers who wanted to be successful during the colonial period generally worked diligently to provide valuable information to readers picked up and ran items related to curing disease and to the dispersion of notices of disease outbreaks. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, for example, averaged ten news items per year through 1770 on the subjects, but the number of news items on disease and cures naturally depended upon whether a certain illness threatened the colonies and the Philadelphia area specifically. For that reason, medical news was clustered around disease outbreaks, the *Gazette* running twenty medical news stories in 1730 concerning smallpox. Although these numbers demonstrate that medical news was not a regular weekly feature of news in colonial newspapers, it was no doubt of great value to readers because of the potential good such reports could produce.

Timeliness was critical to medical news. It was imperative that newspapers report outbreaks of disease in order to tell readers what cities or regions to avoid because of disease outbreak. In the same way, publication of remedies was also vital to readers, and the continual presentation of methods of inoculation for smallpox, especially, is evidence that colonial citizens looked to newspapers as a source of news of cures, even if, as in the case of some medical remedies printed, those remedies were little more than placebos or worthless concoctions.

Colonial newspapers presented a variety of cures that may seem old to a modern reader, but many more diseases and afflictions were life-threatening in the eighteenth century than today. In addition, medical knowledge was limited, and the cause of most ailments was believed to be based in the "humours," that is, in bodily fluids like blood and phlegm and in bile. For that reason, a brief overview of the major diseases of the period and the presentation of medical and disease news in colonial print other than in newspapers should help in understanding the reports that ran in colonial newspapers.

The Diseases of Colonial America

Three main diseases preyed upon the inhabitants of colonial America: smallpox, typhus, and measles.[10] These diseases and others like diphtheria,

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(Scottsdale: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 32-33; and Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989), 21.

9. John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State University Press, 1953), vii.

10. P.M. Ashburn, *The Ranks of Death: A Medical History of the Conquest of America* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1947), 80-82.

dysentery, and malaria were not new to the English settlers who crossed the Atlantic Ocean to settle in America. The diseases existed in England as well and were brought by the colonists when they emigrated.[11] Smallpox was the most lethal pathogen in Europe, and it continued in that role in America, wiping out entire tribes of Native Americans even faster than it claimed the lives of white settlers.[12] The Indians provided fresh ground in which this the European disease might grow.[13]

If Native Americans provided virgin soil for smallpox and the other European diseases, the first English settlers in America, even though many had been exposed to the diseases in England, became nearly as fertile a field for illnesses. It is estimated that 90 percent of Native Americans succumbed to European diseases, while 80 percent of the English settlers in Virginia died from the same ailments during the colony's first eighteen years.[14] A century later, the death rate among colonists had lowered considerably, but still six thousand citizens of Boston contracted smallpox in 1721, with 899 dying from it.[15] In addition, smallpox claimed more than 6 percent of Boston's citizens in 1702, 1730, and again in 1752.[16] And the further south colonists chose to live, the greater the likelihood of contracting a fatal disease, because the Southern colonies provided a more ideal environment for the spread of viruses.[17]

Fatal diseases were widespread in colonial America. Coupled with the fact that no more than four university-trained physicians practiced in the colonies before 1700, a considerable amount of improvisation or making do in the treatment of diseases was natural.[18] That is where the colonial printers came into play, and in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, almanacs that they printed offered a variety of cure-alls. Samuel Atkins' 1686 almanac, *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, advertised cures for assorted "Feavers and Agues, Surfeits, Gripes, Plurisies, &c," the medicines could be obtained from a most unlikely source, the almanac's printer, William Bradford.[19]

Other knowledgeable individuals published handbooks of treatments of disease, not unlike the home medical encyclopedias of the twentieth century. These books went through numerous printings. Twelve editions of John Tennent's *Every Man His Own Doctor*, for example, were published after the

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11. Mary J. Dobson, "Mortality Gradients and Disease Exchanges: Comparisons from Old England and Colonial America," *Social History of Medicine* 2 (1989): 259-97.

12. Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 11.

13. Alfred W. Crosby Jr., "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (1976): 289-99.

14. James H. Cassedy, *Medicine in America: A Short History* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 4-5.

15. Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America*, 51.

16. Dobson, "Mortality Gradients and Disease Exchanges," 284.

17. Ibid., 269-73.

18. Richard Harrison Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America*, 1660-1860 (New York: New York University Press, 1960), 7; and Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 10-11.

19. *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense*, printed in Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American ALMANACS: The Colonial WEEKDAY BIBLE* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 187.

Virginian released it in 1734.[20] Tennent's work was geared toward the Southern colonies and their "Multitude of Marshes, Swamps, and great Waters," all of which "shut the pores all at once, and hinder insensible perspiration. From hence proceed FEVERS, COUGHS, QUINSIES, PLEURISIES, and CONSUMPTION."[21] Tennent's cures were as improvisational as any of the period. He suggested, for instance, taking away "10 Ounces of Blood" for three or four days in a row to cure pleurisy.[22]

Even more popular than Tennent's *Every Man His Own Doctor* was the work of the father of Methodism, John Wesley. *Primitive Physick* ran through twenty-two printings. In the twelfth edition published in Philadelphia in 1764, Wesley offered the following terse advice for fighting breast cancer: "Use the Cold Bath. (This has cured many.)"[23]

While household medical guides and annual almanacs provided colonists with assorted cures for maladies, they could not possibly furnish their readers with the latest in discoveries and correctives because they were not published often enough. This niche was quickly filled by the weekly newspaper. The paper could report the emergence of a fatal disease outbreak on a week-by-week basis. The newspaper could relate the occurrence of diseases in other parts of the colonies. It could also present the latest in remedies for diseases and the latest in medical advancements. The weekly newspaper could also warn its readers of which treatments and physicians were dangerous.

Disease, Medicine, and Colonial Newspapers

The news of disease and medicine in colonial newspapers falls into three separate but related categories. The first and most urgent of these subjects dealt with reporting disease outbreaks and efforts to halt the spread of infectious diseases. Smallpox was the prime motivator of this news, but diptheria and other disease epidemics prompted newspaper notices of outbreaks. Disease outbreak news usually carried factual information about the numbers of ill or dead and where the illness was raging, but newspapers also reported unsubstantiated news of disease outbreaks that no doubt created a certain amount of panic within communities.

The second type of medical news presented assorted remedies that may or may not have helped in the cure of ailments. Many of these remedies were folk cures. Some of these cures were valid; others, as newspapers pointed out, were worthless attempts at curing serious illness or an attempt by someone to make money at the expense of a community seeking relief from epidemics and other types of ailments.

The third type of news concerning disease and medicine reported medical advancements and discoveries. These discoveries were often based upon experimentation that was little more than quackery. Other work that sought cures to diseases, however, employed more scientific methodology producing significant medical advancements that benefited eighteenth-century society. In

20. Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 15.
21. John Tennent, *Every Man His Own Doctor: or, The Poor Planter's Physician* (Williamsburg, 1734), 4 (emphasis included).
22. Ibid., 9.
23. John Wesley, *Primitive Physickor, an Easy and Natural METHOD of curing Most Diseases*, 12th ed. (Philadelphia, 1764), 26.

contrast to reports of medical breakthroughs, colonial newspapers warned of medical quackery and malpractice, something that was no doubt hard to discern in an age of leaching but demonstrates that colonial society was beginning to disregard some types of folk cures.

Disease. When the lone edition of *Publick Occurrences* hit the streets of Boston on 25 September 1690, the last two paragraphs of the first page honed in upon the diseases prevalent in Massachusetts Bay. In a paragraph loaded with current news, past history, and editorial comment on the future, Benjamin Harris reported:

> The Small-pox which has been raging in Boston, after a manner very Extraordinary, is now very much abated. It is thought that far more have been sick of it then were visited with it, when it raged so much twelve years ago. . . .The number of them that have dyed in Boston by this last visitation is about three hundred and twenty. . . . It seized upon all sorts of people that came in the way of it, it infected even Children in the bellies of Mothers that had themselves undergone the Disease many years ago for some such were now born full of the Distemper. 'Tis not easy to relate the Trouble and Sorrow that poor Boston has felt by this Epidemical Contagion. But we hope it will be pretty nigh Extinguished, by that time twelve month when it first began to Spread.[24]

For colonial newspaper readers, knowing when and where outbreaks of the fatal diseases occurred was often a life or death matter. In January 1712, for example, "five or six everyday" were carried off by smallpox and other diseases in Rhode Island, the *Boston News-Letter* reported. The *News-Letter* was informing and warning Bostonians to avoid Rhode Island since "it is very Sickly and Mortal there."[25] Disease evidently abated very little in New England during 1712 because a *News-Letter* correspondent wrote to the paper in November that "the malignant Distemper, that proved so Mortal among us, the last Winter; especially in Hartford, Weatherford, and Glassenbury" had claimed "upwards of Forty, since last August" in Windsor and each of the towns mentioned.[26] A measles epidemic followed in 1714.[27]

While the smallpox epidemic of Boston in 1721 may have been the most deadly of the eighteenth century for the Massachusetts port and the most well documented, the disease extracted a high cost in 1730 as well, with at least four hundred deaths.[28] Coverage of the disease in 1730 began cautiously. The selectmen of the city in an official report stated that in "the Town of Boston, respecting Small-Pox, We find that it is only in Three Houses in the Town . . .

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24. *Publick Occurences* (Boston), 25 September 1690, 1-2.
25. *Boston News-Letter*, 21 January 1711-12, 2.
26. Ibid., 24 November 1712, 2.
27. Ibid., 25 January 1713-14, 2; 15 March 1713-14, 2; and 5 April 1714, 2.
28. John B. Blake, *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630-1822* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 47-51, in Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1979), 104.

and they are now all well Recovered."[29] The report by the leaders was obviously an optimistic reporting of the facts because smallpox continued to claim lives in Boston and the surrounding countryside for at least nine months. In September, the *New-England Weekly Journal* reported that the selectmen "having made diligent Search thro' this Town, find but Six Persons now Sick of the Small-Pox."[30] Notices of smallpox outbreaks in New England continued throughout the year.[31]

Port cities were a natural point of disease outbreaks because of the large number of ships entering them from other parts of the world, and smallpox was not the only disease to take its toll upon the residents of Boston. In 1735 an unknown disease began spreading through New England putting "universal Terrour into the People." This disease, in reality diphtheria, was described by the *Boston Gazette* so that readers would know the symptoms:

> This disease invades generally such as are very young, they feel at the first somewhat lifeless and heavy for a Day or two, and then begin to complain of a soreness in the Throat, and if you then look into the Mouth you'll discover upon the Uvala and Pares adjacent to the Curicula raised in Spots of different sizes, sometimes to a quarter of an Inch Diameter, and fill'd with a laudable coloured Pus. . . . In a Day or two more they have the same Cough as in the common humourous Quinzey, the next Day a Fever rises, and the Cough is often between whiles very loose; the Patient now begins to Breath hard, and almost loses his Voice, being able only to Whisper, and a Daymore makes (with Coughing) only a Whistling kind of Noise, and the next Day pay his Debt to Nature.[32]

In 1739 and 1740, diphtheria again worked its way through New England, beginning with an outbreak in Boston. "Throat distemper," as colonials referred to the disease by this time, claimed casualties in Boston,[33] Newberry,[34] Littleton,[35] and Weston[36] then spread into Connecticut and New York[37] later in the year, according to an on-going report of the disease printed in the *New-England Weekly Journal*. Large epidemics of diseases also occurred in North Carolina in 1735,[38] in South Carolina in 1760,[39] in Maryland in 1765,[40] and in Virginia in 1770.[41] These are but four examples out of many found in colonial newspapers.

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29. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 12 January 1730, 2.
30. Ibid., 21 September 1730, 2.
31. Ibid., 21 December 1730, 2.
32. *Boston Gazette*, 6 October 1735, 3.
33. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 1 January 1740, 3; and 8 July 1740, 2.
34. Ibid., 20 May 1740, 2.
35. Ibid., 26 August 1740, 2.
36. Ibid., 8 July 1740, 2.
37. Ibid., 7 October 1740, 2.
38. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 24 March 1735, 2.
39. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 16 February 1760, 1.
40. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 25 April 1765, 3.
41. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, Dixon and Purdie), 22 February 1770, 3.

Reporting epidemics was important, but stopping them was even more important. Quarantining infected individuals was the first line of defense, and a tragic report in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* demonstrated what happened if an infected individual was not separated from the populace. When a thirteen-year-old girl developed a fever, her parents summoned a physician who found out, too late, that the girl had contracted smallpox. Not only did the girl die, but the doctor and the girl's father both succumbed to the disease.[42] Inoculation of individuals was the second line of defense, and the one that proved to be the most successful. That is why the issue of inoculation continued to be of major importance in the colonies and did not end with the ebbing of the smallpox crisis of 1721.[43] When smallpox was the disease involved, the inoculation question was often part of the news that surrounded the sickness. Even before the Boston selectmen made their inspection of the houses of Boston for smallpox in 1730, the *New-England Weekly Journal* was advocating inoculations to stop the contraction of smallpox.[44] Later in the year, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* explained succinctly the values of inoculation:

> IN a Physical Sense, Inoculation is used for the Transplanting of Distempers from one Subject to another, particularly for the Ingraftment of the Small-Pox, which is a new Practice among us, but of ancient Origin in the Eastern Countries. . . . The Practice seems to be useful, because most proper Age, the favourable Season of the Year, the most regular method of Preparation, and all possible precautions may here be used. . . Advantages impossible to be had when the Distemper is caught in the natural Way. It has also been constantly observed, that the best Sort of Small-Pox is hereby occasioned, that the Eruptions are few, the Symptoms light, the Danger next to none, the Recovery easy, and that the Patient is equally secured from this Distemper for the future, as he would be by having gone thro' it in the natural Way.[45]

In 1750, a letter appearing in the *Boston Gazette* went so far as to claim that rejecting inoculation was a rejection of God's providential plan for humankind. "To reject the practice of Inoculation," the letter writer declared, "is to reject one of the most providential Discoveries, to save the Lives of Thousands."[46]

After the inoculation controversy in Boston in 1721, printers of colonial newspapers apparently believed firmly in inoculation and expended considerable space to convince their readers that having themselves infected with the disease was the only sure way to avoid a bout with death. In 1725, for example, Philadelphia printer Andrew Bradford provided a piece of English news

42. *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 31 January 1760, 1.
43. Wilson, "The Boston Inoculation Controversy: A Revisionist Interpretation," 19, says that the issue of inoculation "fizzled out" by the summer of 1721 and implies that it was no real issue in 1730. Inoculation was still a controversial issue in 1730 and later, as newspapers demonstrate.
44. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 5 January 1730, 1.
45. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 28 May 1730, 1.
46. *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*, 20 November 1750, 1.

that "Princess Louisa, youngest Daughter to their Royal Highnesses . . . was inoculated for the Small Pox."[47] A month later, the *American Weekly Mercury* stated that the princess faced no danger from the killer disease.[48] If King George saw no danger in inoculating his daughter, the *Weekly Mercury* was intimating, then his subjects in America should see no danger in it either.

In Boston, Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green began printing notices of smallpox deaths in the *New-England Weekly Journal* by comparing the number that died from inoculation to the number of those who died after contracting the disease in the "natural" way. "To make the utmost of this Computation, to the Prejudice of Inoculation," the *Weekly Journal* stated, "One in four died of the first Sixty in the Way of common Contagion, and four in a hundred have died of those that have been inoculated."[49] If simple arithmetic would not convince citizens to be inoculated, then perhaps publishing the names of all those who had decided to have themselves inoculated might help. On 20 April 1730, the *Weekly Journal* published a list of all of the Boston citizens that had been inoculated. Readers of the paper could search the list for names of important citizens and discover that in March, only two deaths occurred out of seventy-two inoculations.[50]

The concept of injecting one's body with a potentially fatal disease, despite the numerous newspaper accounts demonstrating the value of inoculation, was never universally accepted during the colonial period. Just three months after the *South-Carolina Gazette* offered "A Receipt against the PLAGUE" in 1760 to help curb the smallpox epidemic that was racing through the region, the colony enacted a law that made it illegal to inoculate anyone in Charleston or the surrounding area against the disease. The decree, signed by the governor, said:

> WHEREAS the inhabitants of Charles-Town have suffered greatly, not only in their trade and commerce, but from a scarcity of provisions, By the raging of the disease . . . called the Small-Pox, in the said Town: AND WHEREAS the most probable means of preventing the said distemper being continued in the said town . . . it shall not be lawful to or for any person or persons whosoever, within the limits of Charles-Town, or within two miles of the said limits, to inoculate or ingraft, or to cause, or procure to be inoculated or ingrafted, the disease or distemper commonly called the Small-Pox, in or upon him, her, or themselves, or in or upon any other person or persons whosoever . . . under pain of forfeiting the sum of One Hundred Pounds proclamation money for every such offence.[51]

Because inoculation remained a controversial practice, newspapers continued to play the numbers game for their readers as they attempted to

47. *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 22 July 1735, 2.
48. Ibid., 19 August 1725, 2.
49. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 6 April 1730, 2.
50. Ibid., 20 April 1730, 1.
51. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 31 May 1760, 1.

demonstrate the value of smallpox inoculations over acquiring the disease in "the natural way." The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reminded its readers that through the inoculation process given Benjamin Franklin in England that "there has not died more, than one Person in 700 . . . when in the Common Way of Infection, one dies out of Five."[52] The *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, in the same manner as the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, attempted to ease its readers' fears of inoculation by pointing out that when inoculation was used in the last outbreak of smallpox in the backcountry region of New England, those who were inoculated died at a rate of "not more than one in a thousand," and added, "We ought to be thankful to GOD for the Discovery of a Medicine so efficacious in antidoting and subduing the Malignancy of this infectious and formidable Distemper."[53] In 1765, the *Maryland Gazette* was still playing the numbers game for its readers offering for them common-sense odds for using inoculation versus contracting smallpox in the tradition manner:

> Suppose a Lottery with 116 Chances, and only One Blank in it; and Another, of 116 Chances with 21 Blanks in it; and the Prizes in Both, of equal Value; Would any Man, (in his Senses) who could have his Choice in the Two, chuse to Venture [his LIFE] in the Latter? This was the exact Case with regard to the Small-Pox in Boston last Year: From among those who took the Small-Pox by Inoculation, there Died only in that Proportion, One out of 116; And nearly One out of every Five who took it in the Natural Way.[54]

While presenting these numbers, the newspaper reported that Annapolis doctors would inoculate for free anyone who so desired, but newspapers were offering the latest methods of self-inoculation and self-treatment for diseases. Following in the tradition of the almanac and home remedy companion, the colonial newspapers provided home treatments not only for smallpox but for a host of maladies.

Remedies and cures, fanciful and real. All of the newspaper accounts listing the odds of surviving smallpox made it seem inevitable in colonial America that one would contract it or some other serious disease. University-trained physicians were scarce, and there was little that they could do, in most cases, when someone contracted one of the epidemical diseases.[55] A self-administered inoculation, therefore, provided as good a preventative medicine as that performed by doctors. Newspapers printed detailed directions for self-treatment. In 1730, the *New-England Weekly Journal* explained how to perform inoculations using two incisions, pus from a live smallpox sore, and lint. The lint, soaked in pus, was placed in the incisions and wrapped tightly.[56] Similar directions, given to Benjamin Franklin in England, were repeated thirty-five years later in the *South-Carolina Gazette* as the disease swept through that Southern colony. The *Gazette's* directions were explicit:

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52. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 26 June 1760, 1.
53. *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 25 December 1760, 4.
54. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 14 March 1765, 2.
55. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America*, 5.
56. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 2 March 1730, 1.

> The proper time for taking the matter is just before it would have dried up. In order to take it, any sort of thread must be had ready about the thickness of a common pin. The head of one of the small-pox may be opened with a needle, or pin, and then the thread is to be drawn along this. . . . The thread thus wetted may be put into a common pill-box, into which air can easily get . . . and use it some days after. . . . Half an inch of that part of this thread which had been well soaked in the matter . . . must be cut off at the time of use. The person who is to be inoculated, must have the fine edge of a penknife or lancet, drawn along that part of the arm where issues are usually made; and it must go deep enough to make the blood just begin to appear. . . . In, or rather upon, this, the bit of thread must be put, and a small plaister of what is called the ladies black sticking plaister . . . is all which need be put over it to keep it on.[57]

With these directions, which also explained what must be done for the two weeks following the treatment, any family could inoculate itself.

Newspapers also provided treatments for other fatal contagions. When in 1735 and for several years to follow, diphtheria spread through New England, the *Boston Evening-Post* offered this "effectual Remedy":

> Take Corns of Stone-Horse Feet . . . put them into a Bag and dry them in a Chimney . . . grate off the rough part, powder the remainder, and take five times as much as will lay upon a Shilling heap'd up, put it into a Quart of French White Wine, and let it stand two Days; take a Quarter of a Pint a little warm going to Bed, and two Hours before rising in the Morning.[58]

When the disease flared up again in Boston in late 1739, the *New-England Weekly Journal* offered yet another cure for "Throat Distemper" in January 1740, which the writer of the letter was so positive would work that he said, "I am fully perswaded it will always do so." The *Weekly-Journal*'s method for curing diphtheria combined a mixture of "proven" medical practices of the day and folk herb remedies. The medical practice included raising "six blisters" on the patient, and the herb remedy involved the use of rhubarb and turpentine. In the event that neither the blisters nor the concoction prevented the throat of the patient from swelling, the patient would have to be bled and treated with "Oil of Cedar." This method of fighting diphtheria was employed by Dr. John Clark of Boston to cure the disease.[59]

To stop rabies, which was more certain to be fatal if contracted than diphtheria or smallpox, one colonial newspaper remedy in 1735 called for a mixture of ground liverwort and black pepper in warm cow's milk. After four doses of this, the infected person needed to spend approximately thirty seconds

57. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 19 April 1760, 1.
58. *Boston Evening-Post*, 4 February 1740, 1.
59. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 1 January 1740, 3.

every day for the next nine weeks submerged to his neck in very cold water. The medicine's inventor was convinced the treatment would cure the infected person.[60] Forty years later, newspapers offered similar cures for the bite of a rabid animal with a "RECEIPT to Cure the biting of a MAD DOG:

> TAKE the Leaves of Rus pick'd from the Stalks and bruised, Six Ounces, Garlick picked from the Stalks and bruised; Venice Treacle and Mithridate and the scrapings of Pewter, of each Four Ounces; boil all these over a slow Fire in two Quarts of strong Ale till one Quart be consumed, then keep it in a Bottle close stopped, and give of it Nine Spoonfuls to a Man or Woman warm, seven Mornings Fasting, and Six to a Dog. This the Author believes will not by God's Blessing fail if it be given within Nine Days after the biting of the Dog. This Receipt was taken from the Register of the Church of England.[61]

Several of the treatments found in the colonial newspapers had nothing to do with disease. Instead, they sought to provide relief from everyday afflictions. Toothaches, the *Newport Mercury* stated, could be cured "by the touch of an artificial magnet." All the afflicted had to do was face the North Pole to be "cured by the touch."[62] Frostbite could be remedied by rubbing "the Fat of a Dunghill Fowl" on the exposed areas and then wrapping them in "a Piece of Woolen Cloth, well greased with the said Fat," the *New-York Mercury* informed its readers.[63] Honey rubbed on a child's gums, the *Georgia Gazette* noted, could stop the pain teething caused for infants. As proof, the *Gazette*'s story told of a woman who lost nine children while they were cutting their teeth but had six live after she began rubbing their swollen gums with the honey.[64]

Wells for drinking water were constantly in need of repair, but they were often filled with gases that could render unconscious those who descended them to clean out obstructions. Sharing a tip from coal miners in England, one writer to the *New-York Weekly Journal* explained how to revive a person that had suffocated:

> Cut a hole in the Grassy Ground big enough for a Mans Face, and lay the Man upon his Belly, and his Face in this hole, where he lyes perhaps one Hour, sometimes two, and then (the Earth having drawn from him the Sulphurous matter he had taken in by reason of the Damp) he comes to Life again and is well only small Sickness at his Stomack remains with him two or three Days. Note. The Person so taken has no pulse, Breath, or any other Signs of Life, only that the Body is not Stiff but Limber.[65]

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60. Ibid., 18 November 1735, 1.
61. *Massachusetts Gazette & Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser*, 2 April 1770, 1.
62. *Newport Mercury*, 25 February 1765, 1.
63. *New-York Mercury*, 14 January 1765, 2.
64. *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), 18 July 1765, 2.
65. *New-York Weekly Journal*, 14 April 1740, 1.

Other serious problems encountered in everyday colonial life involved water, too. Several citizens in Philadelphia, according to newspaper reports, died after drinking extremely cold water during the summer. The newspaper accounts blamed the rapid intake of cold water for the deaths by causing the lungs to stop working. The report explained what happened:

> The Body, from the Season of the Year, as well as from being now so much more heated that usual, is in a very irritable State; so that the cold Water, as soon as it is received into the Stomach, communicates its Effects to the Parts which adjoin the Lungs, whose Irritability is much encreased, and over part of which the Water must pass, in entering into the Stomach.[66]

As a remedy to the lungs' failure, the letter writer offered several treatments and said, "Would not blowing Wind into the Mouth, or into the Anus, by Means of a Pair of Bellows, tend to rouse Circulation, and give the Lungs an Opportunity of playing again?"[67]

Because water provided one of the main transportation systems in colonial America, colonists were often in boats. As might be expected, numerous drownings occurred. The *Boston Evening-Post* offered a cure for drowning victims that had been performed on a cat in England, the insinuation being that such methods would also work with humans. After being dead for half an hour, the cat was laid before a fire and covered with salt. Next, its body was gently rubbed until it was revived. The cat, after this treatment, began to crawl and make noises.[68] A similar procedure was used successfully to revive a drowned boy in Europe. The account of the successful reviving of the lad was provided by the *Connecticut Courant* so that its readers might use the procedure if so needed. After the three-year-old fell into the water he had no pulse, and his head and hands were swollen. The boy, according to the report, had been this way for forty-five minutes. At that time, a doctor laid the boy upon a bed of ashes filled with salt and other unnamed ingredients and began rubbing him with hot cloths. After thirty minutes of this treatment, the boy was revived and "recovered the use of his senses."[69]

Experimentation for correctives like those performed on the drowned cat and the three-year-old boy were natural in the colonial period, a time when medical science had so few answers for the maladies of the day. Also, colonists brought with them a number of family and traditional herbal cures for diseases from England.[70] The lack of medical doctors and the penchant for home remedies, therefore, led to a number of "miracle cures" during the colonial period. These cures contained the power to heal a great number of diseases or accidental injuries. Some of the strongest claims for curing power went to three potions: tar water, the Negro Cæsar's cure for poison, and Chinese stones.

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66. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 August 1770, 1; and *Pennsylvania Journal; and the Weekly Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 9 August 1770, 2.
67. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 9 August 1770, 1.
68. *Boston Evening-Post*, 6 May 1765, 3.
69. *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), 26 August 1765, 1.
70. Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 10. For a discussion of numerous backcountry cures practiced in America, see David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 711-14.

The Irish philosopher and church bishop George Berkeley penned a treatise on tar water, and the *Virginia Gazette*, for three weeks in May 1745, drew from his "Treatis on Tar-Water," explaining how to make the medication and what maladies it would cure. Tar water was, just as it named implied, water mixed with tar or the resin of pine trees. The *Gazette* opened its tar water series by explaining how to create the elixir:

> Tar-Water is made, by putting a Quart of cold Water to a Quart of Tar, and stirring them well together in a Vessel, which is left standing 'til the Tar sinks to the Bottom. A Glass of clear Water being pured off for a Draught, is replaced by the same Quantity of fresh Water, the Vessel being shaken and left to stand as before. And this is repeated for every Glass, so long as the Tar continues to impregnate the Water sufficiently.[71]

Once tar water reached its proper consistency, its uses were numerous. It could be taken "as a Preservative or Preparative against the Small-pox," to halt "Distemper," or to heal "Ulceration of the Bowels." Tar water held the cure for "Indigestion" and provided individuals with "a good Appetite." Tar water, according to the *Gazette*'s publication of Berkeley's treatise, was "an excellent Medicine for Asthma" and produced "quick Circulation to the Juices without heating." For individuals who might need to lose weight, tar water could be used to make "Diet-Drinks."[72]

If curing these maladies were not enough, the following week of the *Virginia Gazette* proclaimed tar water as a cure for the "Bloody Flux," "Gout," and "Gangrene from an internal Cause." In addition, Berkeley's "miracle cure" was "an excellent antihysteric" and worked on "hypochondriacal Disorders." Used as a rub, tar water was "an excellent Preservative of the Teeth and Gums," and it "sweetens the Breath" and "clears and strengthens the Voice."[73]

To prove that tar water worked, the *Gazette*'s printer, William Parks, included an example of the medicine's power against the most deadly of enemies smallpox. "In one Family there was a remarkable instance of several Children," the paper stated, "who came all very well thro' the Small-pox, except one young Child which could not be brought to drink Tar-Water as the rest had done."[74]

Although not as comprehensive a cure-all as tar water, "The Negro Cæsar's cure for Poison" offered a welcome remedy from snakebites and other types of poisoning. Cæsar's cure was made by boiling "the roots of Plantane and wild Hoare-hound" and was taken by fasting patients. In addition to being taken internally, it was applied to the bite of a rattlesnake with "a leaf of good Tobacco moisten'd with Rum."[75] Just as other wonder cures provided proof of their ability to do as promised, the letter writer to the *South-Carolina Gazette* that provided the information about Cæsar's Cure did the same, saying that the root concoction "never fails" with rattlesnake bites.[76]

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71. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 9 May 1745, 1.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., 16 May 1745, 1.
74. Ibid., 9 May 1745, 1.
75. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 14 May 1750, 1.
76. Ibid.

While tar water and Cæsar's cure for poison were proclaimed to be potent remedies, another "Chymical Composition, called Chinese Stones" produced all of the cures of the other two and more. Benjamin Franklin must have found Chinese Stones to be a wonderful drug or a source of tremendous amusement because the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 17 October 1745, dedicated considerable space to the stones.[77] Franklin was not the only one to find the Chinese Stones, introduced by a Mr. Torres, fascinating. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*'s accounts of them came to Philadelphia from Rhode Island, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. The *Maryland Gazette*'s discussion of the stones on 8 November 1745, traveled to Annapolis from Boston. And perhaps not by coincidence, Mr. Torres happened to be in Philadelphia when the *Pennsylvania Gazette* printed this series of articles and offered the stones for sale.

The description of the stones began with a certification that they would "effectually cure the Bites of all venomous or poisonous Creatures; as Rattle (and other) Snakes, Scorpions, mad Dogs, &c." As proof, the article stated, "The Experiment has been made in the Bay of Honduras, on the Bodies of two white Men, and four Negroes, who were bit by Rattle-snakes, the said Stones being applied to the Wound, and the Persons cured immediately."[78]

Not only could snakebites be cured by the Chinese stones, the miracle cure healed a toothache, sore eyes, and a swollen foot overnight in North Carolina. The stones cured rheumatism and sciatic pains in Virginia, and a cancer "was cured with one Bag of this Powder." It appeared to cure appendicitis in Maryland and completely cured hemorrhoids in Philadelphia. For those without an appetite, a bag of Chinese stones "laid on the Pit of the Stomach" immediately created an appetite. Gout, the bloody flux, and all sorts of distempers could be vanquished by Chinese stones, the certified accounts in the Pennsylvania Gazette claimed.[79]

Other cure-alls that were presented in colonial newspapers claimed to have just as much power as Chinese stones, Cæsar's poison cure, and tar water. The *Constitutional Gazette* praised the power of "Antiveneral Pills" in 1775. These pills were proclaimed to be able to cure veneral disease, leprosy, and other skin disorders.[80] Even though the antiveneral pills were nothing more than a type of patent medicine, the appearance in a newspaper of this type of news item in the midst of almost exclusive news about the Revolution further enhances the notion that cures for disease were valuable pieces of information to colonial citizens no matter what cause or event was capturing most of the attention of the period.

Medical advancements and discoveries. Even though few actual medical advancements were made during the colonial period and most medical "discoveries" were of the tar water or Chinese stones variety, several real cures occurred during this time period. Two of the most important that appeared in the

77. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was not the only Philadelphia newspaper to run an account of the Chinese stones. See the *Pennsylvania Journal, or Weekly Advertiser* for 5 September 1745 for an advertisement about the stones and their curative powers.
78. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 17 October 1745, 3.
79. Ibid.
80. *Constitutional Gazette* (New York), 18 October 1775, 4.

colonial newspapers dealt with the removal of cataracts and stones.[81] Identical articles in the *New-York Weekly Journal* and *American Weekly Mercury* of Philadelphia in 1735 described how a London doctor had perfected a method for removing cataracts. Dr. Taylor, the articles said, could now remove cataracts without "Waiting for what the vulgar call the Maturity of the Cataract."[82] Cataracts could, evidently, be removed by Dr. Taylor before the patient lost sight because of them. In addition, the article claimed, "this Operation requires little or no Confinement, and cannot be attended or succeeded by any Pain." Dr. Taylor promised that "not one Example can be produced who has been disappointed of this Success."[83] Cataract operations were evidently a regular procedure by American physicians by 1770.[84]

Stones were cut out of patients in America around the same time. The *Essex Gazette* of Salem, Massachusetts, reported such an operation from New Hampshire in 1770. The account of the important medical event appeared as follows:

> Last Monday Morning the Rev. Mr. Samuel Drowne, Pastor of one of the Churches at Portsmouth, New-Hampshire went thro' the dangerous Operation of being cut for the Stone, a Disorder he has for some years past been severely exercised with; and a very large rough one was taken out of his Bladder: He is now in a fair Way of Recovery. Some further Particulars may be made public hereafter. – We hear this ingenious and difficult Operation was performed by Dr. Hall Jackson of that Place.[85]

Because so very little was understood about the causes of diseases during the eighteenth century, some of the best medical advice of the age appears foolish today. Because the science of the day attributed most illnesses to the "humours," or the liquids of the body, the removal of blood or causing a patient to vomit continuously were common and acceptable medical practices. In 1770, the *Boston Evening-Post* provided for its readers an essay describing what the loss of too much bodily fluid would do to a person. The essay advised readers to guard against the loss of too much saliva, semen, and urine lest persons find themselves in poor physical health. Too much spitting, the doctor who wrote the essay warned, disturbed digestion. He added, "There is certainly no humor in the body more healthy than the saliva." Semen "discharged too lavishly," the essayist maintained, caused weariness, convulsions, pains in the membranes of the brain, and foolishness, while "too great a discharge by urine occasions dryness, imperviousness and heat of the humors, enextinguishable thirst,

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81. In the eighteenth century most surgery was performed for emergencies reasons: superficial growths, amputations, and the like. Most disorders were considered to reside in the "humors" – blood, bile, and phelgm. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America*, 1660-1860, 59.

82. *New-York Weekly Journal*, 8 December 1735, 2; and *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 18 December 1735, 2.

83. Ibid.

84. *Massachusetts Gazette, and the Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser*, 19 November 1770, 1; and *Essex Gazette* (Salem, Mass.), 20 November 1770, 4.

85. *Essex Gazette*, 16 January 1770, 3.

crudities, lowness of the spirits, leanness, atrophy, and disorders of the like kind."[86]

Newspapers also reported on cosmetic surgery procedures advanced in the colonial period. The *Massachusetts Gazette* announced that a Boston physician had found a method of surgically repairing a "Hare-Lip." This new surgery was a great help, the news item said, because of the value this cosmetic procedure could have for women in what had been an unsightly birth defect. The paper explained the value of removing the cleft from women's lips:

> The Impression these unhappy Sights are apt to make on married Women, should be an Inducement to have this Defect in Nature rectified early in Life, as there are numerous Instances of the Mother's Affection having impressedher Offspring with the like Deformity.[87]

Newspapers presented the scientific research that went into the efforts to discover cures for maladies. These reports demonstrated the hit-and-miss approach that many "scientists" and doctors employed in attempting to find cures for illnesses and physical defects. They reveal that many times the thinkers of the colonial period had no idea as to what caused a disease or disability. One such example appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the summer of 1775. The experiments, conducted in Newport, Rhode Island, ended up finding "cures" for a number of maladies, starting with seeking a cure for a man with "foul putrefying matter pent up in his bowels." The experimenting doctor began his cure by mixing different ingredients together until a concoction was devised to purge the patient. Wine, apples, and pears were all tried in the potion until success was achieved. In the same way, the experimenter Thomas Young reported, a cure for asthma was discovered.[88]

Closer to scientific research was the *New-York Gazette*'s account of Dr. Benjamin Rush's work on curing hives. Rush, a Philadelphia doctor and professor at the College of Philadelphia, studied medicine in Edinburgh, London, and Paris.[89] Rush began his investigation of hives by acknowledging that he had no idea of the etymology of the word hives but credited the Irish with applying it to the disorder. Rush's research then defined hives as "a DIFFICULTY OF BREATHING, joined with Hoarseness and other symptoms of Oppression and Disorder of the Lungs" and said hives was an affliction apparently unknown in the ancient world. By observing hives, Rush concluded that hives were caused by the nerves producing spasms. Rush's research into hives continued as he examined and attempted to cure a three-year-old patient. Rush noted that the usual remedies applied by physicians, "antinomial emettics, squill mixtures, blisters, warm bath, &c." were of no value in treating hives. The child died anyway.[90] Even though Rush found no cure for hives, no doubt some form of illness similar to asthma, his methodology approached disease in more than a haphazard manner. He concluded that the customary ways of treating the

86. *Boston Evening-Post*, 15 January 1770, 1.
87. *Massachusetts Gazette* (Boston), 6 September 1770, 3.
88. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 16 August 1775, 4.
89. Michael Martin and Leonard Gelber, *Dictionary of American History* (Savage, Md.: Littlefield Adams, 1978), s.v. "Benjamin Rush."
90. *New-York Gazette: or the Weekly Post-Boy*, 15 January 1770, 1.

affliction were of no value and that other methods needed to be found in order to cure a patient of hives. Further research, the Pennsylvania doctor noted, was needed.

One of the great discoveries of the colonial period did occur in America and was made by one of Rush's Philadelphia contemporaries. In the mid-1740s, Benjamin Franklin began his experiments with electricity.[91] Although the work with electricity was not done with cures for disease and physical ailments in mind, enterprising researchers in America and Europe sought to apply electricity to the art of healing. In Suffolk, Virginia, the *Boston Evening-Post* reported in 1750, a gentleman had conducted electrical investigations that produced cures for toothaches, headaches, deafness, sprains, and nervous disorders. The experimenter, the news account explained, "applied the Electrical Fire to the human Frame." As a result, "a Negro Boy, about sixteen Years of Age, who had always been so Deaf as scarcely to hear the loudest Sounds, has by the same means been brought to hear, when spoken to in a common Tone of Voice."[92]

In Stockholm, the *Virginia Gazette* noted in 1755, experiments had revealed that electrical shock cured deafness, lameness, toothaches, oozing blood, and dislocations caused by smallpox.[93] John Wesley, the Methodists' founding father and author of the popular remedy text *Primitive Physick*, felt electricity "comes the nearest an universal medicine of any yet known in the world."[94] In addition to electrical experiments to find uses for electricity in curing diseases and physical problems, medical uses for electricity were also discovered by accident. The *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, for example, reported the complete recovery of a man who had lost almost all ability to walk after lightning accidently struck him while he lay in bed. The *Chronicle* explained that "the morning after the shock the lightning gave him, [the man] walked with ease 10 or 12 miles."[95]

The use of electricity to cure the host of diseases described in the pages of colonial newspapers, however, approached quackery, just as the use of tar water and Chinese stones to cure smallpox did. And because the causes of most diseases were completely unknown, the citizens of the eighteenth century turned to quackery out of desperation.[96] Even though newspapers often printed cures that could only work with luck, they also warned their readers of the dangers of quacks and dangerous, useless medicines.

One such warning appeared in the *New-England Weekly Journal* in 1735. The paper reported "that a certain Person . . . has lately turn'd Occulist, and tried his Skill upon several."[97] Becoming a physician was not an uncommon practice in the eighteenth century. Formal training for medical doctors was rare in the colonies, and anyone vaguely familiar with medical literature was often

91. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Viking Press, 1938), 156.
92. *Boston Evening Post*, 1 January 1750, 1.
93. *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 14 March 1755, 2.
94. John Wesley, *Diary of John Wesley*, quoted in Maurice Bear Gordon, *Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies* (Ventnor, N.J.: Ventnor Publishers, Inc., 1949), 498.
95. *Pennsylvania Chronicle, and Universal Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 17 September 1770, 1.
96. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America*, 5.
97. *New-England Weekly Journal*, 21 October 1735, 2.

called upon for treatment.[98] The Occulist from "Prince-Town in the Jerseys" probably fell into that category, but his medical treatment produced tragic results. The newspaper stated:

> It seems his Operations have turn'd out contrary to the Desire of his Patients, for instead of restoring their Sight, he intirely takes it away. This Effect his Experiments have had in particular on Mr. Benjamin Randolph, who before this blind Occulist had any thing to do with his Eyes, could See, but now he is quite Blind and in great Pain. *It's to be hop'd People will take Caution by this who they suffer to meddle with their Sight; and not emply those who will put out both their Eyes to make them see clearly.*[99]

The *Boston Evening-Post* issued a similar warning for Bostonians to be on guard against a pair of quack doctors from New York who were currently operating in New England in 1770.[100] Quacks were evidently a large problem in New England. The *Providence Gazette* lamented the fact that "any ignorant plow-boy may live six months or a year with some old Quack, who perhaps started up in the first place from an obscure cow-doctor, and if he can talk pretty glib, and has a good stock of impudence, will gain reputation and practice as soon as the best Physician." As bad as the practice of quackery was, the *Gazette* maintained, even worse was the fact that so many people turned to their "unintelligible nonsense" to seek a cure.[101] The *Massachusetts Spy* warned its readers that a quack was practicing in Boston. The charlatan physician claimed he had discovered a cure for the gout, and the paper described his medical cure as "a white powder of a sweetish taste."[102] And a Boston man, heeding the advice of quackery, attempted to cure a scald on the back of his two-year-old by rubbing the child down in a mixture of milk and soot, which, according to the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, led directly to the child's death.[103]

Even some of the great cure-alls were debunked by the very papers that had extolled their virtues. The Chinese stones, for example, were promoted as great remedies in both the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Maryland Gazette*, but both newspapers printed a letter unmasking the wonder cure. Acidus, the letter writer, said that Mr. Torres, who sold a Chinese stone or a bag of ground stone for twenty-five shillings, "ought to be ashamed" for taking advantage of gullible people. The Chinese stones, the letter said, were nothing more than pieces of bone that had been rasped "into what shape you please, and then burn it in hot Embers." All the stones really possessed, the letter writer concluded, were "all the Virtues of — a new Tobacco Pipe."[104]

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98. Cassedy, *Medicine in America*, 10-11. Certified, professional doctors in the eighteenth century were university trained like Benjamin Rush.
99. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Boston), 21 October 1735, 2 (emphasis in original).
100. *Boston Evening-Post*, 7 May 1770, 3.
101. *Providence Gazette; and Country Journal*, 8 September 1770, 1.
102. *Massachusetts Spy* (Boston), 20 September 1770, 1.
103. *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, 17 September 1750, 2.
104. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 31 October 1745, 2; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 8 November 1745, 4.

While cures such as the Chinese stones might be nothing more than placebos and the use of them do no harm to the user, some newspapers warned their readers that the intentional use of another product might well cause harm. That product was tobacco, and the *Massachusetts Gazette* issued perhaps the first warning in America against the use of the "stinking weed" in 1765. The *Gazette*'s report said tobacco produced "nauseous vapors" that were particularly harmful to conjugal relations between husbands and wives. The article said that use of tobacco products should be refrained from completely, but if that was impossible their use should definitely be omitted from the bedroom.[105] A *Boston Evening-Post* medical essay warned that individuals "really injure themselves who smoak too much tobacco."[106] The *Essex Gazette* was even more explicit in attacking the use of tobacco. Often laden with assorted chemicals according to a medical report released in London, the tobacco and chemical combination, "may affect the brain, the stomach, and breast." The *Essex Gazette*'s article then stated:

> persons who are subject to that unwholesome, expensive, and uncleanly custom of taking snuff . . . ought to be avoided or dismissed by all sensible, cleanly, rational, and delicate persons. All parents, preceptors, &c. should be attentive not to permit youth that dirty, prejudicial habit. The present of a snuff-box is the most useless and detrimental gift that can be made to a child, for many young persons have been induced to take snuff from the vanity to show their boxes.[107]

By warning readers of the dangers of tobacco and quacks and the foolishness of using placebos, colonial newspapers were pointing toward a standardization in medicine and medical practices. Although it would not happen in America during the colonial period, such a movement was already under way in England. Because of the numerous cures such as tar water, Chinese stones, electricity, and Cæsar's cure for poison, a special committee from the College of Physicians planned to investigate "the good or bad qualities of each [remedy] previous to their being sent abroad into the world, as often to the ruin of multitudes of the unwary, who from the motive of cheapness . . . are induced to make use of them."[108] American physicians began to adopt a similar approach in the 1790s, but the move toward standardization in medical practices in America did not make many inroads until the nineteenth century.[109]

One medical advancement that did find a place in America was the use of hospitals to treat the ill. Epidemics were the prime concern of the colonial population because of the potential for infecting and killing large numbers during a single outbreak, and outbreaks of contagious epidemics naturally required quarantines. Hospitals, or quarantining facilities for smallpox patients, were in use in the colonies by 1750.[110] But other medical problems that affected individuals had to be dealt with as well, broken bones and rheumatism being two

105. *Massachusetts Gazette (And Boston News-Letter)*, 14 February 1765, 4.
106. *Boston Evening-Post*, 15 January 1770, 1.
107. *Essex Gazette* (Salem,Mass.), 2 January 1770, 4.
108. *Newport Mercury*, 17 June, 2.
109. Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America*, 117-166.
110. *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*, 20 November 1750, 1.

of many possible examples, and a hospital in a city was a logical solution to meeting growing medical needs in high-density population areas.

In the 1750s, Philadelphia sought a way to help individuals with "everyday" medical problems and converted a large house in the city into a hospital. The original intent of Philadelphia's hospital was to see to "the Care and Cure of Lunaticks," but as the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported, the house acquired for the hospital was really not suitable for that purpose, so the city put it to immediate use in meeting other medical needs. The unit, according to the *Gazette*, treated eighty-nine patients during its first year of operation from April 1754 through April 1755 who were afflicted with everything from aneurysms to "Suppression of Urine," with ulcers being the most common affliction of the patients receiving care in Philadelphia's hospital.[111]

To let the citizens of Philadelphia know what had gone on in the hospital, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* printed a chart listing all the types of medical problems that the hospital staff had encountered for the year. The *Gazette*'s chart[112] allows a glimpse into the types of everyday problems that eighteenth-century citizens faced and how successful the medical practices of the day were in treating those problems. (See reprint of chart on page 241.)

The abstract was thorough in its assessment and presentation of the hospital's operation, and Philadelphia's citizens could take pride in knowing that only nine of the patients who entered the hospital died while forty-seven were cured. While the chart says nothing of the methods of treating ailments, it demonstrates that by the middle of the eighteenth century, American colonies were making a concerted effort to treat maladies in the most effective ways known, through a central medical facility that could pool financial, physical, and intellectual resources to combat the medical probems of their citizens.

Conclusion

Diseases and their cures were an important part of colonial life. The inclusion of medical news about illnesses and cures for everything from smallpox to "hypochondriacal Disorders" in the colonial newspapers supports this fact. The use of medical news also demonstrates that the colonial newspapers reflected the concerns and needs of society to find a way to halt the spread of these maladies. Unfortunately, cures for diseases were neither discovered nor proper methods for treating them understood by eighteenth-century physicians. That is why Dr. William Douglass remarked in 1760 that "more die of the practitioner than of the natural course of the disease."[113] That is also the reason why so many "miracle cures" appeared in the colonial newspapers. Natural elixirs made of roots, leaves, and horns were believed to be the way to cure diseases, and the assorted articles in the colonial newspapers prove this.

Medical news in the colonial newspapers also demonstrated society's desire for faster and more accurate news on subjects of real importance. Almanacs and medical books existed for the colonial citizen containing assorted cures, but

111. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 10 July 1755, 1.
112. Ibid.
113. William Douglass, *A Summary, historical and political, of the first planting, progressive improvements, and present state of the British Settlements in North America* (London, 1760); quoted in Duffy, *Epidemics in America*, 4.

almanacs were published yearly. Books of cures could be printed, but they could not reach the people as quickly or as easily as the same news in a weekly newspaper. In addition, neither almanacs nor medical books could contain notices of where the latest epidemic had erupted or what cures and curers were dangerous. Hundreds of copies of the *Virginia Gazette*, for example, could be printed, delivered, and shared by large numbers of readers before William Parks or any other colonial printer could produce a similar number of Dr. Berkeley's tar water treatise.

Medical news items never dominated the news, even though disease outbreaks increased the amount of medical news found in newspapers, but this lack of dominance should not be construed as a lack of importance for these reports. Outbreaks of infection were periodic, and there was no need to provide news of treatments for diseases unless those illnesses were present and necessitated treatment. When large epidemics struck, colonial newspapers responded appropriately. While South Carolina fought a massive Indian war with the Cherokees in 1760, for example, the *South-Carolina Gazette* also regularly reported news of smallpox in the colony providing monthly warnings of outbreaks and "Receipts against the PLAGUE" to help colonists know areas of illness and how the disease might be avoided.

The newspapers of the colonial period sought to provide their readers with "A Receipt against the PLAGUE," and they attempted to stay abreast of the latest news of disease outbreaks and epidemics. Even though many local residents already knew of disease outbreaks, the notices in colonial newspapers served as official reports like those of the Boston selectmen and as ways to transmit the news of local disease to other colonies. The colonial newspapers were reasonably effective at transmitting this news both locally and colony-wide. That is why the *Boston Evening-Post*, in the midst of news of political unrest and potential revolution in 1775, also reported, "Upon a strict Enquiry no one has the Distemper in Town."[114] News of disease was important to the colonial citizen, and the newspapers met the need to know with a variety of medical information.

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114. *Boston Evening-Post*, 23 January 1775, 3.

Diseases.	Admitted.	Cured.	Relieved.	Irregular.	Died.	Incurable.	Remains.
CASES,							
Aneurism,	2	2	-	-	1		
Asthma,	1	-	1	-			
Cancer,	1	-	-	-	-	1	
Consumption,	1	-	-	-	1		
Contusion,	1	1	-	-	-		
Cough of long standing,	2	2	-	-	-		
Dropsy,	10	3	1	1	3	-	2
Empyema,	1	1	-	-	-		
Eyes diseased,	1	1	-	-	-		
Fistula in *Ano*,	1	1	-	-	-		
Fistula in *Perinæo*,	1	-	1	-	-		
Fever,	2	2	-	-	-		
Flux of long standing,	5	3	-	-	1	-	1
Fracture,	1	1	-	-	-		
Hair Lip,	1	1	-	-	-		
Hectic Fever,	2	1	-	-	1		
Hypocondriack Melancholy,	1	-	1	-	-		
Lunacy,	11	3	-	-	-	3	5
Palsey,	1	-	1				
Rupture,	1	1	-	-	-		
Rheumatism and Sciatica,	1	1	-	-	-		
Scorbutic and Scrophulous Ulcers,	5	3	1	1	1	-	5
Suppression of Urine,	22	16	-	-	-	-	6
Ulcers with Carious Bones,	1	1	-	-	-		
Vertigo,	7	-	1	-	-	-	
Uterine Disorder,	1	1	-	-	-		
Weakness habitual,	1	1	-	-	1		
Wounded,	2	1	-	-	-		1
White Swelling,	1	1	-	-	-		
Total,	89	47	7	2	9	4	20

CHART from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia, 10 July 1755, 1. The heading over it read: "An ABSTRACT of the Cases in the Pennsylvania Hospital, from the 27th of the Fourth Month, 1754, to the 26th of the Fourth Month, 1755."

The *Mid-Week Pictorial*: Forerunner of American News-Picture Magazines

By Keith R. Kenney and Brent W. Unger

As a spin-off of a New York Times *rotogravure picture section that was transformed into the first real news-picture magazine, the* Mid-Week Pictorial *was a journalistic innovator. But the money behind the magazine wasn't as substantial as that of another 1930s startup,* Life *magazine.*

In November 1936, Henry Luce launched what is typically remembered as the first American photojournalistic magazine—*Life*—with the now familiar prospectus:

> To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things—machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work—his paintings, towers and discoveries; to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; the women that men love and many children; to see and to take pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed....[1]

Its first issue's press run of 466,000 copies sold out almost overnight, and second-hand copies commanded ten times the cover price. *Life's* circulation soared past one million in four months, beyond even its publisher's fondest hopes.[2]

Two months later, *Look* also sold out its first-copy press run of more than four hundred thousand copies, and was selling over a million copies after

1. Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 349.
2." *'Pictorial'* to Sleep," *Time*, 8 March 1937, 40.

only its third issue.[3] *Look* was originally a monthly, however, and therefore stayed on the stands four times as long as *Life*, a weekly. America's hunger for news-in-pictures was difficult to sate; magazine dealers throughout the country were unable to keep picture magazines on their shelves.[4]

Monte Bourjaily's photojournalistic magazine, *Mid-Week Pictorial*, however, appeared before either *Life* or *Look*, beating *Life* to the stands by more than a month. The *New York Times* had published a newspaper supplement with the name *Mid-Week Pictorial War Extra* since World War I. Although the *Times' Mid-Week* was of a pictorial bent, it used mostly helter-skelter series of newsphoto reprints, never making the leap into photojournalism. It never had staff photographers working with editors to tell stories through the interplay of words and pictures. After the war years, its editorial policy clouded, and the publication stagnated.

The affable, bushy-haired Bourjaily, who managed the United Features Syndicate and steered it toward national renown through personal zeal and initiative,[5] purchased the foundering publication from the *New York Times* on 1 September 1936. He wrote, "We purchased *Mid-Week Pictorial* because we cherished an ideal which we wished to have reflected in such a magazine. At that time there was no other picture magazine in America, and pictorial representation of news seemed the most neglected field in periodical publication."[6]

Bourjaily's *Mid-Week Pictorial* had a publishing philosophy similar to *Life*, and its credo in the first issue proclaimed:

> We are dramatists of the news, and present a show a week.
> We are interpreters, delving behind the scenes.
> We seek to enlighten, entertain.
> We regard life as truly a stage, to present the players with understanding, with sympathy.
> We want to present the news in all its drama, color, meaning.[7]

Mid-Week Pictorial presented the "news edited with a camera, written in pictures"—very similar to *Life* offering "the news, pictorially presented."[8]

Unlike the photographic supplements of the time (and the *Times' Mid-Week*), all of which merely relied on haphazard sequences of newspaper photo reprints or feature pictures, Bourjaily's *Mid-Week Pictorial* (like *Life*) employed staff photographers to supply pictures that comprised complete stories—often with a sensationalistic, controversial, or daring bent. It used these picture stories, as well as drawings and cartoons, to interpret the news visually rather

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3. Ibid.
4. "The Current Fad for Picture Mags," *Literary Digest*, 30 January 1937, 20; and Edwards, "One Every Minute," 17.
5. "PICTORIAL: New Publisher for the Times's Midweek Magazine," *Newsweek*, 12 September 1936, 20.
6. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 10 February 1937. All references to *Mid-Week Pictorial* are based on original copies in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
7. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 10 October 1936.
8. "More Picture Magazines Bob Up," *Business Week* , 4 December 1938, 28.

than simply to illustrate stories. The camera, brush and pencil were Bourjaily's primary tools.[9]

Bourjaily managed to more than triple circulation with his second issue; however, four months later, the magazine ceased publication ... never to resurface.[10]

This article traces the development of the largely ignored *Mid-Week Pictorial* from its origins as a *New York Times* rotogravure magazine containing pictures of World War I to its brief reign as the pioneer American photojournalism magazine.[11] The special qualities of the magazine as well as the reasons for its ultimate demise will be explained.

1914-1919: Pictorial War Extra

In the early 1900s, printing presses were technically incapable of reproducing good halftone photographs and text together on the same page. Instead, almost all photographs were grouped together on a single page, and readers of a page-one story would turn to a special "picture page" to view the corresponding picture. The public wanted more and more pictures, so publishers were constantly seeking new and cheaper ways of printing large runs of newspapers with many picture pages.

The *New York Times* turned to rotogravure as a solution. After Managing Editor Carr Van Anda had seen rotogravure's potential on a trip to Europe in 1913, Adolph Ochs brought from Germany craftsmen, presses and equipment for making plates. With rotogravure printing, a brown or sepia-toned ink lay in etched cavities below the surface of the printing plate. Rotogravure yielded a more realistic reproduction of photographs than possible from the more usual halftones, but the screen also had to be applied to the typography, resulting in less clarity. The major advantage was that an unlimited number of photographs could be printed on sixteen pages simultaneously at a low cost. On 5 April 1914, the *Times* published the first rotogravure supplement to appear in the United States, and its Sunday paper

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9. "Mid-Week Pictorial Sold to Bourjaily," *New York Times*, 1 September 1936, 19:3.

10. "The Current Fad for Picture Mags," *Literary Digest* , 30 January 1937, 20

11. No previous study has been devoted solely to the description of *Mid-Week Pictorial;* only brief mention of the magazine may be found in photography texts, histories of journalism and in articles from mass media periodicals. These five works make no mention of *Mid-Week Pictorial* or its role in American journalism: Edwin Emery and Michael C. Emery, *The Press and America*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1984); Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, 3rd ed. (New York:Macmillan Co., 1962); Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, 5th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982); Helmut Gersheim, *A Concise History of Photography* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965); and John Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1969). These three books treat *Mid-Week Pictorial* with only one sentence concerning its failure after sale by the *New York Times*: Stanley A. Kalish and Clifton C. Edom, *Picture Editing* (New York: Rinehart, 1951), 9; Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1969), 724; and James Playstead Wood, *Magazines in the United States* (New York: Ronald Press, 1956), 215.

circulation increased by a hundred thousand.[12] The process soon came to dominate newspaper pictorial supplements.

The *New York Times* started an additional picture supplement, published in the middle of the week, in order to profit from the public's desire to see photographs of the war in Europe. The following advertisement encouraged readers to collect photographic memories of a conflict that would kill one million young Englishmen:

> START A COLLECTION OF WAR PICTURES
> Start now to collect these magnificent illustrations of current history, the camera's story of churches in ruins, soldiers in trenches, sacked villages, fleeing refugees, armies on the march, faithfully portraying, week after week, the progress of the war. They will be treasured in years to come as no other souvenir of the conflict.[13]

The cover of *Mid-Week's* first issue, 9 September 1914, featured a photograph of a painting with the caption: "Picture of William II of Germany Never Before Published." Inside was a collection of photographs from European and American picture agencies such as Underwood & Underwood, Acme Newspictures, and Hearst's International News Photos. These pictures showed marching troops, fleeing refugees, war demonstrations, important people, and war-damaged areas. The center spread was a reproduction of a painting, "The Conquerors," by Pierre Fritel. There were no advertisements or stories in this large-sized supplement, which measured 11 inches wide by 16.5 inches deep, similar in size to *Life* magazine. Given this format, pictures could be displayed well; their standard sizes were full, half or quarter pages. Rather than size and arrange pictures to provide visual emphasis in layout, or to provide a logical flow of pictorial content, editors simply made compact, orderly arrangements of pictures unaccompanied by stories, headlines or advertisements.

Over the next six months, the publication's format evolved slowly. There were more pictures per page, the pictures were grouped according to topic, and stories and advertisements appeared. For example, in the 7 May 1915 issue, the center spread included a large photograph of the *Lusitania*, which had recently been sunk, as well as a photo of one of its luxurious lounging rooms and three photos of passengers boarding lifeboats during an emergency drill. The front cover consisted of another photograph of the ship and the back cover was a full-page picture of "Captain William F. Turner of the ill-fated Lusitania." Page two included four first-person accounts of tragedies due to the war. Eight other pages included stories with photographs. The magazine's first true picture story, a narrative set of pictures that work together to present a single topic, was published. It showed Austrian troops attempting to extinguish a fire started by shells in Galacia. Two ads, both one-third of a page, touted *Times'* publications *Current History* and *Mid-Week Pictorial.*

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12. Kalish and Edom, 6.
13. *New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial Extra*, 5 November 1914, 23.

On 1 July 1915, Adolf S. Ochs put his brother George W. Ochs in charge of *Mid-Week Pictorial* and *Current History*.[14] George had 36 years' experience in daily journalism, most recently as publisher of the *Public Ledger* in Philadelphia. He worked diligently at managing the two *Times'* magazines, and within two years, "both publications were making places for themselves."[15] *Mid-Week Pictorial* had an estimated circulation of between forty-five and seventy thousand during his tenure.[16]

Under George Ochs' leadership, the magazine printed pages of pictures with stories on the war in Austria, Italy, France, India, Greece, Spain, and Germany, and it took pride in their exclusive photographs, touting "the first photograph" whenever possible. News photographs of the war occasionally even achieved a poetic romanticism equal to pictorialist aesthetics. One example showed the interior of Rheims Cathedral, "occupied only by a solitary soldier, hat in hand, who was somberly regarding the irreparable damage done by German bombs."[17]

In 1916, recognizing that the war was not going to end quite as soon as the Allies had imagined, the *Times* dropped the phrase "War Extra" from the title of its *Mid-Week Pictorial*. For three more years, the magazine published pictures of important world news events, as well as images of warplanes, dirigibles, catastrophes, and scandals. For example, the 10 July 1919 issue contained a two-page spread on the British dirigible R-34, "World's Greatest Airship." The spread contained two views of the dirigible, two pictures of the anchoring system, drawings of the crew, a graphic comparing the airship to multi-storied buildings, a map of its projected course from Scotland to Long Island and an article with its vital statistics.

1920-1936: Steady Decline

After the war, *Mid-Week Pictorial* published more feature photographs than news photographs. Pictures of movie and theater stars, fashion, sports and high school beauty queens regularly filled its pages. One had to look below or alongside the oval, circular and odd-shaped photographs to find minimal cutline information. Contests were used to attract readers. Beginning 27 May 1920, the magazine paid $10 for the best photograph of any major event in the United States or Canada of the week's news taken by an amateur photographer. Cash prizes also were awarded for constructing the best crossword puzzles, for the best gardens, for the best mother-and-child portrait and for solving brain teasers. Major news events, such as Hall-Mills' murder case in 1922, Adolf Hitler's beer

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14. William M. Schuyler, ed., *The Life and Letters of George Washington Ochs-Oakes* (New York: private printing, 1933), 40.
15. Ibid., 41.
16. Circulation figures for *Mid-Week Pictorial* for the period 1914-1918 are not available. In N. W. Ayer and Son, *American Newspaper Annual & Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son 1920), circulation for 1919 was an estimated 70,000. For the years 1920, 1921 and 1922 circulation was an estimated 45,000. No circulation figure was available for 1923. George Ochs, however, claims that when he left the magazine (1923), it had a circulation in excess of seventy thousand, and Ayer reports the circulation in 1924 as 77, 653.
17. See photograph and description in Marianne Fulton, *Eyes of Time* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1988), 68.

putsch in 1923, Bobby Franks' kidnapping in 1924, Albert Snyder's death in 1927, Ruth Snyder's execution in 1928, and the St. Valentine's Day massacre in 1929 were either ignored or received minimal photographic treatment. Perhaps the low point occurred with the cover photograph on 10 March 1928. Accompanying a picture of a German Shepherd looking at an issue of *Mid-Week Pictorial* was a caption explaining that the dog "understands about 400 English words, though he is not a 'talking dog'; and while he cannot read, he can enjoy pictures with the best of them."

Occasionally, however, the magazine provided excellent coverage of spot news events. The 16 September 1920 issue included four photographs and a map concerning an explosion on Wall Street. One image shot minutes after the explosion showed the damage to buildings, while another showed the (covered) bodies of several victims. On 11 November 1921 *Mid-Week Pictorial* expanded to thirty-two pages, and seventeen pages of pictures showed the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. After President Harding died in San Francisco, the magazine ran 15 pages of pictures.[18] Tremendous coverage was also give to Charles A. Lindbergh's trans-Atlantic flight in 1927. To show readers the magazine's concern with timely news coverage, one photographic caption read, "A Radio Photograph. . . This picture was taken, was then carried to London by airplane and flashed across the ocean to New York by Radiograph."[19]

A highlight occurred on 27 March 1924 when the magazine reproduced autochrome photographs of Tutankhamen's treasures. Reproduction of color photographs was rare for that time. Color roto had begun as "tintogravure" in Joseph Pulitzer's *Sunday World* in 1923.[20] Later *Times* editors proudly touted their use of the three-color process by proclaiming with each image: "Sole Color Rights for the United States and Canada Reserved for The New York Times Co., ©, 1924."

But overall, the 1920s began a period of slow decline for *Mid-Week*. Circulation fell every year from a high of 77,653 in 1925 to a low of 29,870 in 1936.[21] George Ochs transferred *Mid-Week Pictorial* to the Wide World Photograph Department of the New York Times Company in 1923, and from then on devoted himself exclusively to *Current History*.[22] With faster and faster picture transmission and higher quality newspaper reproduction, the best photographs now appeared in daily newspapers; rotogravure sections of newspapers and rotogravure magazines became the dumping ground for newsphoto leftovers.[23]

A 1925 internal memorandum asked: "Is the *Mid-Week Pictorial* to be a weekly newspaper or a weekly picture magazine?... Now in which field do you want the *Mid-Week* to be? The war is over—the conditions upon which the

18. *Mid-Week Pictorial* , 9 August 1923.
19. *Mid-Week Pictorial* , 2 June 1927.
20. Mott, *American Journalism*, 685.
21. Ayer and Son, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1925-1937.
22. Schuyler, *The Life and Letters*, 41.
23. Laura Vitray, John Mills Jr., and Roscoe Ellard, *Pictorial Journalism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), 354.

Mid-Week was started have disappeared. The Sunday rotogravures are available everywhere...and at a much lower price. ..."[24]

Mid-Week Pictorial clearly was adrift and listing, but there was certainly no dearth of ideas on how to right her and get her back on course.

In 1925, H.J. Brown Jr., business manager of *Mid-Week*, proposed transforming *Mid-Week Pictorial* into an educational supplement. The proposed, rather long-winded, title:

The New York Times
WIDE WORLD WEEKLY
A Mid-Week Pictorial and Educational Review of the News.
Science, Sports, Art, Politics, Travel.

It would have been "offered in quantity lots to schools as a supplementary material for the upper grades of the elementary, and for all grades of the high schools, covering by text and pictures (40 percent text and 60 percent pictures) the news of the world and such phases of science, nature study, history, geography, politics and sports as the week's news opens for such study."[25]

Conversely, a 1928 memorandum proposed converting *Mid-Week Pictorial* into a national supplement for Sunday newspapers across the continent—something akin to today's *Parade*, although with a more pictorial bent.[26]

Not only was the editorial policy in question, so were the name, the price and the publishing day. In 1925, Brown recommended a price change to 5 cents from 10 to match the competition. In addition, he wrote, "A change in the name would probably help. Wednesday is a bad publishing day; even Saturday much better, and Thursday, in spite of that being the *Post* day, is better than Wednesday. ('*The American Pictorial*,' the '*Saturday Pictorial*,' [and] the '*National Pictorial*' are all better names, I think, than the *Mid-Week*)."[27]

Interestingly, more than 10 years before either *Life*, *Look*, or Bourjaily's revamped *Mid-Week Pictorial*, prescient voices (ultimately ignored) argued for *Mid-Week* to convert to a *Life*-like magazine.

In 1925, Brown wrote, "I believe there is a place for a high-grade weekly pictorial magazine...A new and definite editorial policy should be chosen. I have some definite ideas on this point. The size should be doubled, that is from 32 to 64 pages...I have great admiration for the way in which Mr. Graves edits the Sunday rotogravure but the *Mid-Week* does not fall in the same field, and in my judgment requires totally different kind of treatment."[28]

And Charles M. Graves, editor of *Mid-Week*, wrote in 1933:

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24. Internal memorandum from H. J. Brown, Jr. to Julius Ochs Adler, 1 April 1925. Photocopies of all memorandum from H.J. Brown, Jr. and all memos to Julius Ochs Adler and Arthur Hayes Sulzberger were provided by the *New York Times* Archives, *New York Times* , 130 Fifth Ave., 9th Floor, New York, NY 10011.
25. "Memorandum of H.J. Brown, Jr. for changing the *Mid-Week Pictorial*..." 13 June 1925.
26. Julius Ochs Adler to Adolph Ochs, 12 January 1928.
27. H. J. Brown, Jr. to Julius Ochs Adler, 1 April 1925.
28. Ibid.

> I may be bucking against a sentiment that seems to be growing in the minds of some of us who are studying the *Mid-Week Pictorial* due to the seeming success of *Time* and some of its imitators, but I am very much inclined to think that our best hope for the *Mid-Week* is in keeping it distinctly a picture magazine, but a very much broader and bigger magazine of that type than we are now producing....We should have such a picture magazine as has ever been gotten out in this or any other country.[29]

Despite the proposals for change, however, little was done. And although a few token features were added in the late 1920s and 1930s—such as "Smiling Through," which contained funny stories to offer relief during the grim years of the Depression—no major substantive changes were effected. What's more, *MWP*'s "picture stories" remained simply symmetrical arrangements of photographs from picture services. Few, if any, original photographs were made or purchased. *Mid-Week*'s drift was such that there was talk of letting it expire.

In an internal 1933 memo, publisher Adolph Ochs gave voice to the extent of *Mid-Week's* problems: "I would be rather inclined to experiment with [*Mid-Week*] if times were more propitious, but I am reluctant to go into any new enterprises that are not absolutely essential in making the *New York Times* a better and more attractive newspaper." Arguing that he was "strongly inclined to its discontinuance," Ochs wrote, "I wish we could find some publisher to take it over."[30] However, Ochs never discontinued or sold *Mid-Week Pictorial*, apparently holding on to it out of sentiment until his death in 1935.[31]

But in September 1936, *Mid-Week Pictorial* was indeed sold for the seemingly insignificant amount of $5,000.[32] Seeing a need for the *Times* to consolidate its operations, Arthur Hayes Sulzberger—acting as the new publisher after Ochs' death—decided *Mid-Week Pictorial* had "served [its] purpose."[33] On the inside cover of the *New York Times'* last issue of *Mid-Week Pictorial* (3 October 1936) ran a one-sentence announcement: "With this, the last issue under its management, The New York Times Company announces the sale of Mid-Week Pictorial to Monte Bourjaily of New York."[34]

Although *Mid-Week Pictorial* was not considered important by the *Times* in 1936 and despite its low sale price, the magazine made several important contributions to the field of photojournalism while published by the New York Times Co. It was the direct descendant of the *Times'* rotogravure Sunday supplement, which increased the *Times'* circulation by 100,000 and was the first newspaper rotogravure supplement in this country. Its success encouraged greater use of pictures by both newspapers and magazines. To serve the increasing needs of the Sunday and mid-week pictorials, for example, The

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29. Charles M. Graves to Julius Ochs Adler, 21 September 1933.
30. Adolph S. Ochs to Arthur Hayes Sulzberger, 20 September 1933.
31. Meyer Berger, *The Story of the New York Times 1881-1951* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1951), 408.
32. Monte Bourjaily to Julius Ochs Adler, 13 August 1936.
33. Ibid.
34. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 3 October 1936.

Times Wide-World Photo Service was organized in 1919 under the direction of Charles M. Graves. Indeed, picture magazines became popular and successful in the 1930s partly because of the history of *Mid-Week Pictorial* and other picture publications such as the *Daily Graphic*, the *New York Daily News* and foreign picture magazines.

For many years, *Mid-Week Pictorial's* superior rotogravure reproduction allowed the best viewing of World War I pictures. Today, when a publication reproduces a picture from World War I, the picture is more likely to have originally appeared in *Mid-Week Pictorial* than other publications because very early in the war it began publishing large quantities of well selected, large-sized, well-reproduced photographs. After the war, the publication aggressively pursued "exclusive" photographs, and it was a leader in reproduction of autochromes, the precursor of color reproduction so common today. In the 1920s and early 1930s, it reproduced the week's best wire service photographs in an organized manner.

1936: A New Publisher

Bourjaily began his career in journalism as a reporter for the *Syracuse Herald*, 1914-1917, and for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1919-1920. In Cleveland, he met his wife, raised his three sons and eventually covered the city hall beat. From there, he moved on to West Haven, Conn., where he edited the local paper.

"He became a salesman then for United Press,...and he was a *hell* of a salesman," his son Vance said.[35] "In the late 1920s, having won the annual sales contest—he made the most money for UP of all their representatives—he received what was considered a very dubious award. He was made general manager of United Features Syndicate. [The award was very dubious] because United Features Syndicate had been losing money and was about to go down."

Bourjaily, however, managed to turn the syndicate around. In 1936, *Newsweek* wrote that when Bourjaily took charge in 1928, UFS was "a shoestring affair crowded into a corner office in the Old World Building. [But] impelled by energetic sparks from Bourjaily's head, the little syndicate took on life and energy; now it ranks with the best in the country."[36]

After directing the syndicate for seven years, Bourjaily decided to leave, take his savings and begin a new business. Vance said, "He had always worked for someone else, and at United Features he had a stock accumulation deal. He was both paid and also paid in shares of stock. When they settled up to begin with they figured the stock was worthless so they may as well load him up. He had enough of it so that deciding to leave UFS and go into business for himself,...he was able to cash out for about three quarters of a million dollars [1930s dollars].... What he decided to do was to start the first picture magazine."

After all, Vance said, Time, Inc. was circulating prospectuses for *Life* to wild acclaim, and the demand for a picture magazine was almost palpable. At least five influences combined to raise Americans' picture consciousness and

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35. Vance Bourjaily, in a 22 March 1993 phone interview. Vance Bourjaily, the second son of Monte Bourjaily who was in his mid-teens when his father bought *Mid-Week Pictorial*, is a noted novelist who teaches at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

36. "PICTORIAL ..." *Newsweek*, 20.

drive their demand for picture magazines: American illustrated weeklies, illustrated magazines from abroad, the movies, the tabloid newspapers and advertising photography. Technological advances in printing and photography also helped launch picture magazines.[37] Bourjaily bought the rights to *MWP* "mostly because he liked the title," Vance said.

"So he took his three quarters of a million dollars...," Vance said, "and converted [his five-story brownstone] into not just the offices for MWP but also the housing for some of the staff, including himself. . . . The living room, which was the second story...became the news room, the editorial room, the place where business was done and where the magazine was put out. . . . He had John Huston, who was then a kid, as his film editor. John...moved into the bedroom which I had occupied." He lived there with his first wife, Constance DePinna, heiress to the DePinna department store (akin to today's Saks Fifth Avenue) and fashion editor for *MWP*. A man named Franz Hoellering also lived at this makeshift publishing house, Vance said.

Hoellering was the new managing editor—a German native who formerly edited the *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*. Photojournalism had made its debut in Germany in the late 1920s, when editors such as Stefan Lorant of the Munich *Illustrirte* used related photographs integrated with text in a coordinated layout to tell a story. But when Hitler came to power, many editors and photographers left Germany for the United States, where an experienced pool of photojournalistic talent-in-exile formed. Henry Luce also tapped this vein of foreign talent when he hired Kurt Korff, formerly of the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, in late 1935.

Splashed on the cover of Bourjaily's first issue of *Mid-Week Pictorial* on 10 October 1936 was a color photograph of a leggy, scantily-clad woman. The old publication typically ran black-and-white, more conservative covers. In an expanded format of sixty-four pages—compared to thirty-two pages in the old (New York *Times*) publication—it boasted a number of new departments and features. In the past, the magazine began with national news photographs of politics, disasters, sports, and scientific progress. After a section of international news photos, the old *Mid-Week Pictorial* included regular columns about beauty, food, fashion, furniture, screen and stage stars and a photo contest.

With the new magazine, readers certainly got their 10 cents-worth. The 10 October issue included a four-page feature story and photographs about Wallis Simpson, a companion of Edward VIII, King of England at the time. People could read the first installment of a novel by Richard Sale, an extended excerpt from Stuart Chase's new book, *Rich Land, Poor Land*, and shorter excerpts from books by William Allen White and J.B. Kennedy. Photographs, illustrations, charts and maps accompanied all these texts. There were contributions from such big names as Erskine Caldwell, hailed at the time as "America's premiere proletarian novelist;"[38] Faith Baldwin and Richard Sale. There was a sexually oriented "Esquire-type" cartoon by "Berry." Photographs that "interpreted" the news showed Hitler, Mussolini and Russian leaders in hostile, if somewhat ridiculous, poses. A graphic about crimes committed by minors used increasing type sizes for various crimes—murder commanding the largest font—

37. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 345-347.
38. Edwin McDowell, "For Erskine Caldwell, 50 Years of Successes," *New York Times*, Decmember 1982.

superimposed upon a closeup of an innocent boy's face. Finally, people could see and read about Einstein the sailor, or jai-alai in Spain, or they could read John Huston's feature about Broadway.

The most momentous change in this new publication was Bourjaily's hiring of staff photographers such as Maxwell F. Coplan and William Nelson. Together with freelance photographers and a regular contributor, Eric Godal, they began to shoot picture stories with narrative continuity. It had been easy to get miscellaneous photographs of most news events from picture services, but rather difficult, if not impossible, to acquire picture sequences and stories. By hiring staff photographers, *Mid-Week Pictorial* could procure background photographs not available to newspapers. Indeed, both *Life* and *Look* are acclaimed not for the number of pictures they published, but because their editors replaced the haphazard taking and publishing of pictures with the "mind-guided camera."[39]

Some of the picture stories in Bourjaily's 16 issues of *MWP* were rather simple, such as "A Hackie's Day," which used eight pictures to show what a cab driver does throughout a day[40] or "The Critical Hour," a series of candid photographs of surgery shot by Nelson.[41] Others told a more complex story without following strict chronological order. A photo story by Nelson, "In the Flesh," opened with a portrait of the world's only woman tattooist, and included photographs of tattoos, the sign outside her business, the step-by-step procedure and a picture of a man covered with tattoos.[42] "Rover Girls of the Air" by Eric Godal used twelve photographs, with text, to tell the story of airline stewardesses.[43] "Broadway Wakes Up" followed a standard picture story format. It opened with a portrait and then used pictures from a variety of angles to show various theatre people as they waited to begin work, move the set, rehearse, and finally end their day spent.[44]

None of the photographers, however, could match the abilities of the original staff of *Life* photographers. In *Life's* first issue, Margaret Bourke-White's photographs of the construction of a WPA dam in New Deal, Montana, not only showed the power and elegance of the dam, but also the drama of the town's inhabitants. She and fellow photojournalists Alfred Eisenstaedt, Thomas McAvoy, and Peter Stackpole were experts in the use of 35 millimeter cameras for candid photography. *Mid-Week Pictorial* photojournalists, on the other hand, seemed to pose more photographs, and they seldom took enough closeups, which often give images impact. For example, the story of a Long Island blacksmith who still creates helmets, shields, swords, and other examples of ancient armor would appear to have great visual potential. *Mid-Week Pictorial* photographer Harold Monoson, however, missed the opportunities. Most all of the images are "point" pictures, which exist to illustrate a simple idea, rather than "moment" pictures, which capture a revealing expression or action of the subject. Some of the pictures lack a feeling of depth because editors cut away the background of the images, and others seem flat because the photographer

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39. Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, 5th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern art, 1982).
40. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 24 October 1936, 39.
41. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 18 November 1936, 23.
42. "In the Flesh," *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 30 December 1936.
43. "Rover Girls of the Air," *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 6 January 1937.
44. "Broadway Wakes Up," *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 30 December 1936.

isolated the subject against a plain background. The picture story includes shots of finished products, mugshots of the blacksmith, an image of the blacksmith seated behind an "executive" desk, and pictures of the blacksmith pointing to a blackboard, hammering, and studying.[45]

An improvement evident in this new publication, which may be traced to Hoellering's German influence, was the layout. Editors began to design unobtrusive layouts that were easy to read; there were no more cookie-cutter shaped photographs. Whether organized chronologically or thematically, layouts in this new publication let the photographs speak for themselves. A package of photographs about Greta Garbo's new home had a medium-distance view of her "$75,000 farmhouse" across the top of the page, a tall, thin vertical of Garbo along the right side, and a distant-view of people walking through her wooded estate at the bottom.[46] Another good example of design includes a large, dominant photo of Florence Thompson, the "Migrant Mother," with a map of the United States showing the value of farm real estate, the headline "Look in her Eyes!" and brief text.[47] Many of the installments by William Albert Robinson, a sailor in the South Seas who regularly sent photographs and first-person accounts of his adventures to *Mid-Week Pictorial*, followed a simple, but effective, grid design with a dominant photograph.[48]

Nudity and sensationalism helped spice the news. While owned by the *Times, MWP* kept sensationalism to a minimum, but after its sale to Bourjaily, it began to publish an amount similar to what *Life* would later publish.[49] In an 18 November 1936 feature, "The Strip Tease Goes High Hat," staff photographer Nelson took two series of eight photographs showing a strip-tease act. A page entitled "The Freaks Are Always With Us" contained a ridiculous photograph of a huge woman, "Titania," on the running-board of a dangerously tilting car, a twenty-nine-inch dwarf and a Lilliputianish "Human Hairpin" running to her aid.[50] In addition, this new publication ran "Ten Seconds Before Death," a series of photographs of people before their execution by cyanide gas, hanging, the axe, and the electric chair. As a grim denouement, it included a a four-shot sequence of a Cuban revolutionary propped against a wall as he is "riddled by a firing squad."[51]

Perhaps *Mid-Week Pictorial's* greatest contribution to the record of American journalism is that it was the first modern American picture magazine. Before *Life* or *Look*, it was hiring staff photographers who shot pictures stories about news events and personalities. Imitating the German picture magazines, Vance Bourjaily and Franz Hoellering increased the amount of candid photography and improved the layout of pages. They sought to enlighten,

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45. "The Blacksmith of Long Island," *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 6 January 1937, 15-17.
46. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 10 October 1936, 6.
47. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 17 October 1936, 23.
48. Ibid, 28-29.
49. One of *Life's* first real shockers was titled "How to undress in front of your husband." Several sources suggest *Life's* early, gratuitous use of sex, near nudity and gruesome pictures displaying slaughter, executions, and strewn corpses; see Wood, *Magazines in the United States*, 215, and Tebbel, *The American Magazine*, 202.
50. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 24 October 1936.
51. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 18 November 1936.

interpret and entertain readers with new, exciting and sometimes sensational photographs, cartoons and graphics. They discovered a formula that would sell millions of magazines.

Despite the innovations, Bourjaily's *Mid-Week Pictorial* started foundering soon after it began. Various signs pointed to its demise—signs that can be seen as manifestations of financial woes and harbingers of eventual doom. After 23 October 1936, issues came out irregularly, and the number of pages steadily decreased from sixty-four to thirty-two pages. The number of features decreased, the big-name bylines all but disappeared, contests and crosswords appeared, and the colorized pictures on the covers faded to black-and-white. And during this time – November 1936-February 1937 – photo stories became less and less frequent.

In the 10 February 1937 issue, Bourjaily wrote:

> Perhaps unwisely, we felt that we could publish *Mid-Week Pictorial* while developing our ideas, until we were ready for the final transformation. This has proved a publishing impossibility. We are therefore confronted with the necessity of making one of three decisions:
>
> 1. To continue publication in the present style and manner.
>
> 2. To continue publication as a combination of the present style and the half finished new style.
>
> 3. To cease publication temporarily and devote our time and energy to the completion of the plan so that the next issue will be the one we have so long visualized.[52]

Bourjaily concluded that he had missed the market that was waiting for a U.S. pictorial weekly; readers obviously preferred *Life's* formula of tightly-captioned picture essays on heavy stock over his formula of roughly equal parts of text and pictures on cheaper stock.

His long-visualized issue referred to in option 3 never was forthcoming, and the 10 February 1937 issue was indeed the last.

Conclusions

Although *Mid-Week Pictorial* strived to be, and indeed *was*, the first picture magazine, it soon ran into *Life*, without the latter's financial wherewithal. *Life*, progeny of Time, Inc., was able to absorb huge losses. "*Life*, with advertising from its first issue,...lost four and five millions. During 1937 alone, it lost $3,424,000 or more than $65,000 an issue."[53] And Bourjaily, a lone publisher without corporate backing, simply could not. As it was, he lost most of his fortune ($750,000 in 1930s dollars) in the short four months he published *MWP*.

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52. *Mid-Week Pictorial*, 10 February 1937.
53. Edwards, "One Every Minute," 21.

"'Monte was a guy who thought you could build an empire with nickels,'" Vance Bourjilay recalled a friend saying. He added, "Three quarters of a million prewar dollars was not enough to go up against Henry Luce."[54]

"Gardner Cowles [publisher of the Des Moines *Register & Tribune*]...wanted to cash in on [*Life's*] success," Vance said. "And he approached my father [in late 1936] and said 'What you need in *MWP* is *lots* of capital. I got *lots* of capital—let me in.' Dad said no, and Cowles said, 'All right, why don't you just let me buy you out and we'll merge *MWP*, and we'll retitle the magazine *Look*.' I guess it was going to be an open deal as far as what my father was going to do, how much he was going to participate and what his responsibilities would be, but he said no. He was just a romantic about the American business dream—being your own boss, being an entrepreneur who makes it all the way, from immigrant boy from Lebanon to journalism prince and billionaire.... He probably admired and would have liked to be somebody like Roy Howard (of the Scripps-Howard news service)."[55]

"[Bourjaily] regarded MWP as an incredible mistake...in timing," Bourjilay's son said. He added that his father often said, " 'Having been a newspaper man all my life, I thought the big thing was the scoop, was to be there first. So I wanted to have the first picture magazine.... If I had waited a year and let Henry Luce do the ground-breaking, [*MWP*] would have been very successful, I believe. But I had this newspaperman's instinct for the scoop. I followed that, and I was wrong.' "

Would *Life* and *Look* have been published without the path breaking *Mid-Week Pictorial?* Of course they would. Were they any different because of *Mid-Week Pictorial*? That is difficult to determine. Certainly the editors of *Life* and *Look* were aware of *Mid-Week Pictorial*, but they had probably independently developed their views of picture magazines.

Both Henry Luce and Gardner Cowles were aware of the potential of picture magazines. They knew that an extraordinary increase in amateur photography was spurring the growth of published pictures.[56] The rise of movies made Americans more picture conscious, and the March of Time newsreel was important because it used film as a form of journalism.[57] By the mid-1930s, practically every newspaper man and his brother was carrying the dummy of a proposed picture magazine in his outside pocket.[58]

Cowles had proof of pictures' popularity from George Gallup's 1925 poll, which found that newspaper readers preferred to look at pictures, especially related pictures, rather than read type.[59] In 1933, he and his sons established a roto-picture service that provided narratives-in-pictures to twenty-six large newspapers.[60]

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54. Bourjilay interview.

55. Ibid.
56. Mott, *American Journalism*, 683.
57. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 346.
58. Carol Squiers, "Looking at Life," *Artforum* 20 (No.4), 59.
59. Mich, "The Rise of Photojournalism," 22.
60. Edwards, "One Every Minute," 22.

Luce was certainly aware of the pioneer picture magazine editors and photographers from Germany. Since the late 1920s, editors such as Stefan Lorant of the Munich *Illustrirte* had used related photographs integrated with text in layouts that coordinated captions, cropping and picture size to tell a story. When Hitler came to power, many journalists fled Germany for England or the United States, including Kurt Korff, who worked for an experimental department on a forthcoming picture magazine, *Pictures, Inc.*, which would later become *Life*. Another German editor, Dr. Franz Hoellering, became managing editor of *Mid-Week Pictorial.*

Would Bourjaily have succeeded if he had let Luce have a year's head start, or if he had sufficient funding to continue publishing an additional six months? Again, one can only speculate. In the wake of *Life* and *Look*, millions of copies of picture magazines poured onto newsstands as other publishers introduced their entries. They included *Click, Pic, Photo-History, Focus, Peek, Foto, Now and Then*, and others. Their mortality rate was high, but new hopefuls kept appearing. If Bourjaily could have hired some good staff photographers, and if he directed them to interpret the news rather than only take feature pictures or pictures that capitalized on sex and sensation, he might have competed.

Regardless of the end result, *Mid-Week Pictorial* played a significant role in American journalism. As the first newspaper rotogravure supplement in this country, it encouraged greater use of pictures by both newspapers and magazines and later contributed to the popularity and success of picture magazines in the 1930s. Its superior rotogravure reproduction, large size and good editing permitted readers in both the early and late twentieth century to view important World War I pictures. Later *MWP* became a leader in reproduction of autochromes, and it was the first modern American news-picture magazine. By hiring staff photographers who shot pictures stories about news events and personalities, Bourjaily and Hoellering discovered a formula for successful picture magazines; they just ran out of time and money.

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Presidential Publicity and Executive Power: Woodrow Wilson and the Centralizing of Government Information

By Stephen Ponder

The Wilson presidency, in peace and war, was marked by repeated attempts to centralize government information in the White House. The President tried not only to shape the news from the White House but to control the growing number of publicists and press bureaus elsewhere in the executive branch.

The American presidency was transformed early in the twentieth century from a largely ceremonial position to one of national leadership. Central to this transformation was presidential publicity – the ability of the chief executive to appeal to the citizenry through the developing media of mass communications. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, energetic presidents like William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson strove to reach the public, in part by forging a mutually rewarding relationship with the press, especially the Washington, D.C., correspondents for news associations, newspapers and magazines.[1]

Numerous scholars have studied the development of this new relationship between the presidency and the press in the progressive period.[2] However, there has been little study of the adoption of publicity practices by other institutions in the polity, particularly the growing administrative agencies of the executive branch, and how this affected the emerging public presidency.[3]

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1. For a formative study of this transformation see Elmer C. Cornwell Jr., *Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979).

2. See, particularly, Robert C. Hilderbrand, *Power and the People: Executive Management of Public Opinion in Foreign Affairs, 1897-1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981) and George Juergens, *News from the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). For overviews, see James E. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), and John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts, *The Press and the Presidency* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

3. Until recently, modern executive publicity practices were thought to date from World War I (1917-1919). See, for example, Stephen Hess, *The Government-Press Connection* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1984), 1. A few argue for an earlier beginning.

Inspired by presidential success at making news, other federal officials hired publicists, usually former newspapermen, and established "press bureaus" to promote their interests.[4]

This article re-examines the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, whose formative use of the press to appeal for public support has been widely recognized.[5] The first part of the inquiry examines Wilson's first fifteen months in office, at the end of which he considered creating a "publicity bureau," a peacetime ministry of information, to centralize the flow of information to the press in the White House. The evidence suggests that Wilson's attempts to shape the news from the White House were intended not only to manage the President's own press coverage but also to combat distracting leaks, announcements, and other unwelcome news stories prompted by increased executive branch publicity activity outside the White House.[6]

The second part of the article suggests that Wilson's first-term experiences in trying to manage publicity formed an important backdrop for the wartime Committee on Public Information, which the President created by executive order in 1917.[7] In this context, increased presidential controls overexecutive information between 1917 and 1919 do not appear to be a wartime aberration. Instead, like much of the war effort, they represented an intensification of existing trends in government, bureaucracy and society.[8]

For at least twenty-five years before Wilson became President in 1913, growing numbers of federal officials and agency administrators had tried to

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See J.A.R. Pimlott, *Public Relations and American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), 5-8, and Alan R. Raucher, "Public Relations in Business: A Business of Public Relations," *Public Relations Review* 16 (fall 1990): 19-26.

4. See the author's "Federal News Management in the Progressive Era," *Journalism History* 13 (summer 1986): 42-48.

5. See Robert C. Hilderbrand, ed., "The Complete Press Conferences, 1913-1919," in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 50 (Princeton,N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Elmer Cornwell Jr., "The Press Conferences of Woodrow Wilson," *Journalism Quarterly* 39 (summer 1962): 292-300; Joseph P. Tumulty, "In the White House Looking Glass," Chapter 16, unpublished manuscript, Box 120, Tumulty Papers, Library of Congress; John M. Blum, *Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951); Douglas M. Bloomfield, "Joe Tumulty and the Press," *Journalism Quarterly* 42 (summer 1965):413-421; and L. Ames Brown, "President Wilson and Publicity," *Harper's Weekly*, 1 November 1913, 19-21.

6. Evidence of executive publicity was found in congressional debate, agency records, and in the comments of contemporary journalists and officials, including Wilson. Determining the number of publicists employed by the government is problematic, because of varied titles. See *Preliminary Report* of the Senate Select Committee to Investigate the Executive Agencies of Government, 75th Cong., 1st sess., 1927, 5531-532. For a more recent study, see John A. Maltese, *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communication and the Management of Presidential News* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

7. See Stephen Vaugh, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), and James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1939).

8. See Neil A. Wynn, *From Progressivism to Prosperity: World War I and American Society* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), xi.

reach the public by taking advantage of the increasing appetite for news among commercial daily newspapers and magazines.[9] As early as 1889, Jeremiah Rusk, the first Secretary of Agriculture, found that newspaper editors were willing to print departmental reports as news if they were written in a summary form and sent to editors on a timely basis.[10] Executive hiring of former newspapermen to gather and prepare newsworthy material accelerated under William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, the first post-Civil War presidents to fully appreciate the possibilities of "free" publicity as news. While Roosevelt had little tolerance for unplanned leaks from his administration, he encouraged agency publicists when they served his purposes. For example, Roosevelt supported a campaign for government conservation of natural resources led by Gifford Pinchot, who in 1905 created the first officially designated "press bureau" in the U.S. Forest Service.[11]

However, Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, regarded presidential publicity as unnecessary and undignified.[12] This aloofness from the press left Taft vulnerable when the aggressive Pinchot launched a withering campaign of leaks against Taft and his Secretary of Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, whom Pinchot believed had betrayed Roosevelt's conservation legacy.[13] Journalist Francis E. Leupp, an admirer of Wilson, blamed Taft's failure to win re-election in 1912 on the former President's reluctance to take advantage of the press corps that McKinley and Roosevelt had attracted to write about the presidency. "Taft's unfortunate experience has become a byword," Leupp wrote in 1913, "for until his last year in office he never appreciated what the press might mean as a bridge between himself and the great mass of Americans, and few of the men around him were trained in the art of managing such business." [14]

Despite – or perhaps because of – Taft's seeming indifference to executive branch publicity, agency hiring of publicists continued to expand during his presidency. Testimony at a 1912 House Rules Committee hearing into complaints about a Department of Agriculture press bureau indicated that dozens of other agencies also had hired publicists. Three newspaper correspondents testified that press bureaus existed under one guise or another in agencies as diverse as the Bureaus of Biology, Census, Education, Public Roads, and Soils, as well as the Smithsonian National Museum, the Post Office, and the

9. See Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992).

10. *Report of the Secretary of Agriculture*, 1889 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1890). Leonard D. White, *The Republican Era: A Study in Administrative History, 1869-1901* (New York: Macmillan, 1958), 240-242.

11. See the author's "Gifford Pinchot: Press Agent for Forestry," *Journal of Forest History* 31 (January 1987): 26-35.

12. Archie Butt to Mrs. Lewis F. B. Butt, 28 March 1909, in *Taft and Roosevelt: The Intimate Letters of Archie Butt*, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1930), 28-32.

13. For a comprehensive study of the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, see James L. Penick Jr., *Progressive Politics and Conservation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

14. Quoted in Francis E. Leupp, "The President – and Mr. Wilson," *The Independent* , 27 November 1913, 390-395.

Department of State, among others.[15] By the time that Wilson became President in 1913, then, the hiring of publicists was well underway in the executive branch, and the practice had been more or less accepted by the Washington, D.C., press corps.[16]

This growing use of publicists by executive officials and administrators posed both an opportunity and a challenge to Wilson's campaign to strengthen the presidency by appealing to the public through the press. During his long academic study of the political system, Wilson had come to believe that properly shaped public opinion was the foundation of presidential leadership, rather than the limited delegation of authority in the written Constitution. Only a President backed by supportive national opinion could impose his will on the polity. To create this public support, a strong President needed to formulate a simple, consistent message and to transmit it clearly to the citizenry.[17]

But, as Wilson wrote shortly before becoming governor of New Jersey, neither the institutions of government nor mass communications could, without guidance, be relied upon to produce a unified public opinion. In the late nineteenth century, constitutional separation of powers led to a fragmented government which projected inconsistent messages to the nation. Furthermore, the largest mass medium available to transmit political information, the commercial daily newspaper, offered readers daily sensations rather than what Wilson regarded as useful guidance of public opinion. To create and to communicate a message clear enough to gain public support for a strong presidency, then, was a two-part process: The President needed to be able to speak for a unified government, and he would have to persuade the press to carry his words to the citizens.[18]

Wilson began his presidency by trying to convey his messages to the public through the still-experimental means of open, regularly scheduled press conferences, supplemented by secretary Joseph P. Tumulty's backstage courting of the correspondents. Beginning in March 1913 and continuing until July 1915, Wilson's press conferences drew crowds of reporters who were eager to write news stories about the President, whether their editors agreed with him

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15. U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Rules, 62d Cong. 2d sess., *Departmental Press Agents: Hearing on H.Res. 545*, 21 May 1912. Hilderbrand, *Power and the People*, 81-92, describes the expansion of State Department publicity under Taft. See also "After Press Agents: Congressman Nelson asks for Investigation of Publicity Bureaus," *Editor and Publisher*, 25 May 1912, 1. For the congressional perspective, see F.B. Marbut, *News from the Capitol* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 192-196.

16. See Donald A. Ritchie, *Press Gallery* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991):205-206.

17. Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 118-129, 182, 186, and Niels Aage Thorsen, *The Political Thought of Woodrow Wilson, 1875-1910* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 107-110.

18. See excerpts from Wison's unpublished 1910 essay, "The Modern Democratic State," quoted in Thorsen, *The Political Thought of Woodrow Wilson*, 109-111, and Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908).

politically or not.[19] After four years of Taft's aloofness, the correspondents were more than willing to help Wilson make news.

If the new President was occasionally imperious or evasive, he was nevertheless a welcome source of potentially newsworthy information.[20] Richard V. Oulahan of the *New York Times* described Wilson as able to project "a sense of the dramatic which enabled him to capitalize some of his actions in a way to make them popular."[21]

However, gaining the attention of the press did not guarantee that the correspondents' questions or their stories would reflect the topics or viewpoints that the President wanted to project. Wilson frequently was frustrated with what the read in the newspapers, and his private letters bristle with hostile comments about the press.[22] The President had a quick temper and little tolerance for questions that he deemed disrespectful. He deeply resented press intrusions into his family life. Although Wilson tried to maintain a bantering tone with reporters at the press conferences, he nevertheless complained about the "fictions" he saw in the newspapers. "Who fanned the fiction that I have abolished Cabinet meetings?" Wilson demanded at his 9 October 1913 press conference.[23]

Close study of Wilson's complaints indicates that much of his unhappiness with the press coverage was rooted in more than personal pique or in the intrusiveness of reporters. Wilson had to struggle from the beginning to persuade his Cabinet appointees and other executive branch officials to accept the President's authority and to present his viewpoint in their own dealings with the press. For a President to try to exert substantial influence over the Cabinet was in itself novel in a period when such appointments traditionally went to semi-autonomous party elders.[24] But Wilson envisioned himself as the party leader and policymaker and his Cabinet members as administrators. Democratic demands for patronage, however, forced Wilson to curb his reformist goals and to accept a mixed Cabinet that included independent members such as Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, a three-time Democratic presidential candidate and orator.

The diverse makeup of the Cabinet immediately complicated Wilson's goal of having the administration speak to the press through a unified presidential voice, especially since several of the new appointees followed the

19. Hilderbrand, *Power and the People*, 92-104, describes Wilson's generally skillful handling of questions.

20. See John Orman, "Covering the American President:Valenced Reporting in the Periodical Press," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 14 (summer 1984): 384-390.

21. Quoted in Richard V. Oulahan, "Presidents and Publicity," 1-2, in unpublished memoirs, Box 1, Oulahan Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library.

22. See Arthur S. Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 28 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 134, 310-311.

23. Vol. 28, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 379-380.

24. See Jeffrey E. Cohen, *The Politics of the U.S. Cabinet:Representation in the Executive Branch, 1789-1984* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984); Richard F. Fenno Jr., *The President's Cabinet* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959); and R. Gordon Hoxie, "The Cabinet in the American Presidency, 1789-1984," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 14 (spring 1984):209-230.

emerging custom of hiring their own publicists.[25] One week after Wilson appointed Josephus Daniels, a newspaperman, to be Secretary of the Navy, Daniels met with the admirals about increasing publicity about the Navy. "Too little is published, and I planned to see that the public is acquainted with all that happens of interested," he noted in his diary.[26] The new Attorney General, James C. McReynolds, hired as his "confidential secretary" John T. Suter, a former newspaper correspondent who had previously been a publicist for the Post Office.[27] The new Secretary of Interior, Franklin K. Lane, was a talkative former West Coast newspaperman with many acquaintances in the press.[28]

Not surprisingly, some of the Cabinet members – Lane in particular – talked freely with the press after meetings with Wilson, resulting in newspaper stories that irked the President by prompting questions at his news conferences. On 11 April 1913, for example, only weeks after his inauguration, Wilson sidestepped questions from correspondents about a story that the Cabinet was considering requiring all government employees to start work at 8 a.m.[29] One week later, Wilson faced unwelcome questions on the sensitive issue of alien land ownership, based on a talk the reporters had with Secretary of State Bryan.[30] In May 1913, Secretary of the Navy Daniels noted that Wilson was "greatly put out" to learn that an enterprising correspondent, Joseph K. Ohl of the *New York Herald*, was asking well-informed questions about plans to send the Pacific fleet to the Far East in case of war with Japan.[31] By July 1913, only three months after his inauguration, leaks had become such a concern that Wilson told reporters that he was recalling Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson from Mexico to talk to him in person about the deteriorating situation there, "instead of through telegrams, which we feel may leak at any time."[32]

By fall 1913, Wilson's growing concern with leaks and general unhappiness with his press coverage was leading him to consider ways to assert more presidential control over publicity. Asked at a press conference on 6 October 1913 about a congressional attempt to restrict the departmental hiring of publicists, he said that "I am entirely against the way publicity agents have been used," and for the first time publicly raised the question of whether it might be better to centralize government publicity work in the presidency.[33]

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25. The number of Cabinet agencies had increased to 10 by 1913, according to Paul P. Van Riper, "The American Administrative State: Wilson and the Founders," in Ralph C. Chandler, ed., *A Centennial History of the American Administrative State* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 16.

26. Entry of 10 March 1913, E. David Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 6.

27. Clements, *The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson*, 32-33, and "Washington Topics," *Editor and Publisher*, 30 August 1913, 210.

28. See Anne Wintermute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane:Personal and Political* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

29. Remarks of Press Conference, 11 April 1913, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 27, 284-89.

30. Remarks of Press Conference, 18 April 1913, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 27, 324.

31. See 17 May 1913 entry, *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 67-68.

32. Remarks of Press Conference, 17 July 1913, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 28, 37-38.

33. Remarks of Press Conference, 6 October 1913, *The Papers of Woodrow Wlson*, vol. 50, 255-263.

Before proposing so drastic a step, however, Wilson tried a variety of internal measures to stem the flow of leaks. He had originally planned to hold two Cabinet meetings a week to conduct expansive seminars on administration policy. But, as the leaks continued, Wilson scheduled Cabinet meetings less frequently and limited the scope of their discussions.[34] Ironically, Wilson's plan to limit Cabinet meetings was itself leaked to the press, which drew a prickly presidential response at a 9 October 1913 press conference. Wilson denied a *New York Sun* story that he was considering abolishing Cabinet meetings entirely, which he called "one of the most magnificent fictions that has been started."[35]

In December 1913, Wilson made a direct appeal to Cabinet members to curb their comments to the press. He asked Secretary of Agriculture David F. Houston to raise the issue of leaks, then requested the cooperation of all Cabinet members in allowing the President to determine what should remain confidential. "Some things cannot be given publicity; at any rate, at once," Wilson said. "It is important to consider what shall be said, and how and when I ought to have the privilege of determining this." Houston's account notes that the group quickly agreed with Wilson's request, although whether Wilson's appeal had any impact on the more talkative members is uncertain.[36]

Wilson was especially concerned about newspaper stories on foreign affairs that he felt could wrongly influence public opinion. Throughout the winter of 1913-1914, Wilson used his news conferences to characterize news accounts about problems with the Huerta regime in Mexico as "wrong" or "fake."[37] He warned reporters in January 1914 that speculative stories about foreign policy were embarrassing the government: "I do not think that the newspapers of the country have the right to embarrass their own country in the settlement of matters which have to be handled with delicacy and candor."[38]

Secretary of State Bryan, no doubt prompted by Wilson's concerns, made several attempts of his own to control the inquisitiveness of the correspondents. Bryan, like Wilson, had found himself confronted at press briefings with questions about foreign policy that he did not wish to answer. In July 1913, Bryan suggested that the State Department refuse to answer correspondents' questions on policy announcements until the President decided it was appropriate to do. Later, in February 1915, Bryan, backed by Robert Lansing, then Secretary of War, tried to persuade Wilson to try to bar correspondents entirely from the hallways of the State Department. Tumulty,

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34. Arthur S. Link, *The New Freedom* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), 74-76, notes that by early 1914, Wilson preferred to deal with his Cabinet members individually or by letter. See also Heckscher, *Woodrow Wilson*, 282-283.

35. Remarks of Press Conference, 9 October 1913, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 28, 379-380.

36. The quotation is from David F. Houston, *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet, 1913-1920*, vol. 1(Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926), 87-88. See also Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters*, vol. 4, 297-298.

37. See Remarks of Press Conferences, 10 November, 17 November, and 20 November in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 28, 516, 559, 568.

38. Remarks of Press Conference, 29 January 1914, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 50, 355-356.

however, warned Wilson that attempting such a move would alienate the correspondents.[39]

Wilson's complaints about the press in his first term were many, and not all stemmed from talkative Cabinet members and executive branch publicists. But the evidence indicates that his proposal for a central government "publicity bureau," voiced in a 1 June 1914 letter to Charles W. Eliot, former president of Harvard University, was aimed as much at curbing publicity activity within the government as at influencing what the press was writing. Wilson wrote:

> We have several times considered the possibility of having a publicity bureau which would handle the real facts as far as the government was aware of them, for all the departments.... Since I came here I have wondered how it ever happened that the public got a right impression regarding public affairs, particularly foreign affairs.[40]

Wilson ultimately did not act on the proposal in his first term – presumably after objections by Tumulty – but his frustrations continued. In a 9 August 1915 letter to Edith Bolling Galt, who was to become his second wife, Wilson wrote: "Always the newspapers! They make the normal and thorough conduct of the public business impossible."[41]

As United States involvement became more likely in the war in Europe, which broke out in late 1914, Wilson tried to assert more presidential control over executive announcements, especially those dealing with foreign affairs. In December 1916, for instance, Wilson meticulously managed through the State Department the publicizing of a request to the warring powers for acceptable peace terms. Keeping the note secret in the White House, even from Tumulty, Wilson directed Secretary of State Lansing, who had succeeded Bryan, to alert the correspondents at a morning briefing about an impending announcement, then to release it in the afternoon. When Lansing took it upon himself to interpret the President's note to reporters as an indication that the United States was drawing closer to war, an angry Wilson summoned Lansing to the White House and required him to issue a second statement retracting his earlier remarks.[42]

Still, despite Wilson's exhortations to the Cabinet and direct presidential intervention in executive announcements, sensitive information continued to leak to the press. After a Cabinet meeting on the afternoon of 21 March 1917, called to discuss a possible declaration of war, Wilson gave fifty waiting correspondents only a general statement. But, later that evening, two

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39. See correspondence from Bryan to Wilson, 8 February, 12 February, and 18 February 1915, as well an exchange of notes between Wilson and Tumulty on 19 February and 20 February 1915. All are in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 32, 245, 258, 265, 541.

40. See Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson:Life and Letters* (London: William Heinemann, 1932), vol. 7, 234-235.

41. Quoted in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 34, 139.

42. See Hilderbrand, *Power and People*, 132-134; Wilson to Lansing, 19 December and 21 December 1916, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 40, 276-277, 306-307;and Lansing's memorandum, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 41, 321-324.

Cabinet members revealed to friendly reporters that Wilson intended to call Congress into special session within two weeks.[43]

These first term experiences formed an important context for the wartime Committee on Public Information, the nation's first ministry of information. At the outset of American entry into World War I, Wilson was well aware that the challenge of keeping sensitive information out of the newspapers in wartime was not only a matter of restricting the press; it also would require some means of controlling publicity activity within his administration.

Wilson's initial conception of the CPI was that its primary purpose would be to censor the flow of sensitive wartime information to the press and public.[44] And much of the controversy surrounding the activity of the CPI during the war – and in subsequent scholarship – has centered on its involvement in censorship.[45] But according to George Creel, whom Wilson appointed to be director of the CPI, the primary purpose of the agency was not censorship but to gather and to distribute government information to the press and public that promoted the war effort. In a memorandum sent to Wilson on 11 April 1917, he said that even the word censorship should be avoided:

> The suppressive features of the work must be so overlaid by the publicity policy that they will go unregarded and unresented. Administration activities must be dramatized and staged, and every energy exerted to arouse ardor and enthusiasm. Recruiting can be stimulated and public confidence gained; extortion can be exposed and praise given to the patriotism that abates its profits; and in the rush of generous feeling much that is evil and nagging will disappear.[46]

Once the CPI was created by presidential order, the bulk of its work consisted of supporting the war effort by promotional newspaper and magazine stories and advertisements, books, pamphlets, billboards, placards, speeches, films, and other means of mass communication. Whether described as publicity, propaganda or, as Creel preferred, advertising, many of these promotional activities followed techniques of executive publicity already in use in the government before the war.

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43. Entry of 21 March 1917, Diary of Thomas W. Brahany, a White House aide, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 41, 445.

44. Several schemes of censorship were discussed by Wilson, his advisors, and prominent journalists before creation of the Committee on Public Information in April 1917. See Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 3-22.

45. See Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 234-235; James Mock, *Censorship 1917* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941); Seward W. Livermore, *Politics Is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966): 33-37; Donald Johnson, "Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (February 1962), 46-58; and Harry N. Schieber, *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960).

46. Josephus Daniels to Wilson, 11 April 1917, with enclosed memorandum from George Creel, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 42, 39-41.

At the heart of the CPI's relations with the press was what Creel termed a "central information bureau," which relied on information gathered by newspaper correspondents who were recruited into the war effort and assigned to key executive agencies. Their job was, Creel wrote, to " 'get the news,' to develop 'stories,' and to aid the department in an expert way to put the best foot forward."[47] In other words, activities similar to the work of publicists already in place in many executive departments. Indeed, Creel's 11 April 1917 memorandum referred to the new agency as the Bureau of Publicity, rather than what it subsequently became, the Committee on Public Information and its Division of News.

The initial focus of the News Division was on gathering war-related information from the departments of War, Navy and State, whose Secretaries formed the supervising committee, and from the growing number of emergency agencies like the Council of National Defense, the War Industries Board, the Food Administration, and the Fuel Administration. But Creel's goal was to centralize information for publicity from all the major executive departments. His 11 April 1917 memorandum specified the Cabinet departments of Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, Interior, and Treasury, which would be visited by correspondents on a daily basis, while three or four correspondents each were assigned to the front-line departments of War and Navy.[48]

Once these reports arrived at CPI's Division of News and were prepared for distribution, however, Creel was faced with the same challenge that frustrated Wilson in his first term: how to get the press to print what the administration wanted to say. Here, the President had a solution in mind. Wilson had long supported the idea of a "national newspaper" to overcome the decentralization of the polity and to support the President as a national leader of public opinion.[49] Creel, who said he was initially opposed to the idea, credited Wilson with suggesting the creation of a government-operated "daily gazette" to publish a record of official acts and proceedings, as well as to link together the war-making agencies.[50] On 18 April 1917, Wilson sent a letter to Creel recommending the creation of a "national bulletin" intended to publish the government's notices and to answer anticipated public questions about government war policies. The letter was also signed by members of one of the President's new inter-agency groups, the War Trade Committee, made up of officials from the Justice, State, and Commerce Departments.[51]

Beginning on 10 May 1917, the CPI began to publish the administration's statements and announcements in the new *Official Bulletin*, the nation's first daily newspaper directly funded and published by the nation's

47. Point 4, Creel Memorandum, 11 April 1917, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 42, 38-39. The phrase "central information bureau" is from George Creel, *How we Advertized America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), 74.

48. George Creel, *Rebel at Large: Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), 162.

49. Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), 126-127. See also Juergens, *News from the White House*, 175-177.

50. Creel, *How We Advertized America*, 208.

51. Wilson to Creel, 18 April 1917, from *Report of the Director of the Official U.S. Bulletin to the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information*, cited in Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 197-198.

government. The newspaper, which was published from May 1917 through March 1919, at one point reached a daily circulation of 115,000 copies a day. It was sent free to public officials, newspapers and to war-related organizations, as well as being posted in Post Offices and military camps. The *Bulletin* was undoubtedly useful in coordinating wartime activities by allowing government, industry, the Red Cross and other organizations to learn what the others were doing.[52]

From Wilson's perspective, moreover, creation of the CPI and publication of the *Bulletin* provided at least a partial solution to the related problems of uncontrolled publicity activity within the executive branch and the inevitable distortions of sensitive information by the press. For the first time, the flow of information within the government had been formally centralized under the President's control, and Wilson now had a reliable newspaper voice to appeal for public support for his policies.

But extending the President's control over information, even in wartime, alarmed critics in Congress and in the press. Existing commercial newspapers, already concerned about Wilson's campaign for censorship powers, attacked the *Bulletin* as a threat to freedom of the press and eventually prompted a congressional investigation into its activities.[53] The outspoken Creel, who had been a muckraking journalist before working for Wilson, created his own series of controversies, which required Wilson to defend him from suggestions in the press and in Congress to create a newspaper advisory board to oversee him. When journalists prompted critics in Congress to start a full-scale investigation of the *Bulletin*, Creel stopped sending it to the newspapers and told objecting editors to "take it up with their congressmen." Responding to congressional complaints about his loyalty, Creel told reporters that "I don't like slumming, so I won't explore into the hearts of Congress for you."[54]

These controversies involving Creel tended to overshadow Wilson's direct role in guiding CPI activities. Wilson was not only personally involved in defending Creel from his critics, he oversaw CPI decision-making on publicity as well as on censorship. When Congressman Albert Johnson of Washington raised critical questions about the *Official Bulletin*, Wilson wrote:

> I would suggest that the Committee on Public Information was created by me, that Mr. Creel is my personal representative, and that he feels constrained in the circumstances to refer all inquiries about the Committee and the work it is doing to me.[55]

After reviewing Creel's first annual report in January 1918, Wilson wrote approvingly that "I have kept in touch with that work, piece by piece, as you

52. For a description of the *Bulletin* and its role, see Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 197-200.
53. Hilderbrand, *Power and the People*, 153-154.
54. Quoted in Walton Dean, "George Creel and His Critics: A Study of the Attacks on the CPI, 1917-1919" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Berkeley, 1941), 13-14, and the *New York World*, 13 May 1918. See also Hilderband, *Power and the President*, 148-156.
55. Quotation from correspondence between Tumulty and Wilson, 11 July 1917, vol. 43, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 145-146.

know, in our several interviews, but had not realized its magnitude when assembled in a single statement."[56]

In addition to answering critics, Wilson and Creel faced a formidable organizational challenge in trying to coordinate, let alone control, information in an executive branch where independent publicity activity had been widespread even before the addition of wartime publicity campaigns. The *Bulletin* tried to serve as a clearinghouse for nearly fifty government press bureaus, according to its editor, Edward S. Rochester.[57] The extent to which these press bureaus were willing to submit to CPI authority varied, especially in the old-line departments with established publicity offices and their own connections in the press.[58] The most prominent holdout was Secretary of State Lansing, who defied Wilson and refused to cooperate with the CPI, even though he was a member of its supervisory committee. The State Department already had its own division of information, which Lansing upgraded to a Division of Foreign Intelligence and expanded its public relations activities.[59] Lansing also favored much stronger restrictions on the press, like those employed by the British, and he disliked and distrusted Creel.[60]

Nor could the Creel and the President count on the complete cooperation of the wartime agencies that Wilson had created. The War Trade Board, the Council of National Defense, and the Fuel and Food Administrations went ahead to form their own press bureaus against Creel's advice. At the Food Administration, Herbert Hoover created a national publicity campaign urging food conservation that in some respects rivaled Creel's promotional work at the CPI.[61] Although Hoover was ostensibly subject to Creel's authority, he frequently went around Creel to the President with his suggestions for publicity. Creel had to appeal to Wilson in December 1917 to get Hoover to stop referring in Food Administration advertising to the nation's wartime "Allies" and to substitute "Our Associates in the War."

Despite these limitations on centralized control of publicity, however, the strong backing of Wilson, Tumulty and that of Secretary of the Navy Daniels and Secretary of War Newton Baker gave the Committee on Public Information general control over most of the important war news from the administration. However, with the signing of the Armistice in November 1918, the CPI, like the other emergency wartime agencies created by Wilson, began to scale back its operations. Wilson's postwar relationship with the press was complicated by his

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56. Wilson to Creel, 14 January 1918, vol. 45, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 580-581.
57. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 199.
58. Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War*, 92. Creel also reported disagreements, presumably over censorship, with the Justice Department, Post Office, and military intelligence offices.See Bean, "George Creel and His Critics," 82.
59. Hilderbrand, *Power and the People*, 152.
60. Lansing, *War Memoirs* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1935), 323-324. Lansing urged stricter controls on the press and tried to stop State Department officials from talking with newspaper correspondents. See entries beginning with Tumulty to Wilson, 8 May 1917, in vol. 42, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 245-247, and Hilderbrand, *Power and the People*, 150-152.
61. See Maxy Robson Dickson, *The Food Front in World War I* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944), and Craig Lloyd, *Aggressive Introvert: A Study of Herbert Hoover and Public Relations Management, 1912-1932* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972).

trips to Europe to negotiate the peace treaty, the turmoil of the debate over its ratification in the Senate, and, ultimately, the President's disabling stroke in late 1919.

The Wilson presidency, in peace and in war, had been marked by repeated attempts to centralize government information in the White House. This article suggests that Wilson was seeking not only to extend the President's authority by shaping the news from the White House but to extend White House control over the growing number of publicists and press bureaus at work elsewhere in the executive branch. These presidential initiatives took place in the context of a growing emphasis on executive publicity in the presidency and in the executive branch over the previous twenty-five years. While neither of Wilson's immediate successors, Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, tried to exercise the same level of authority over the press or the executive branch, Wilson's experience was nevertheless formative in demonstrating the possibilities of centralizing presidential influence over government information early in the twentieth century.

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Research Notes

Westbrook Pegler: Brat of the Whole American Neighborhood

by William Stimson

This year marks the hundredth anniversary of Westbrook Pegler's birth and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death. Anyone who said, "West-*who*?", ought to make it a point to look up two books, *'T Aint Right* and *The Dissenting Opinions of Mister Westbrook Pegler*. In the evanescent world of newspaper writing, these collections of old newspaper columns contain a bit of enduring literature.

Westbrook Pegler had the knack of investing print with the sound of an authentic voice, so that reading him was like sitting across the table from him and listening to him propound. This audile quality to Pegler's prose was noted by such literary practitioners of it as poet Carl Sandberg and novelist Edna Milay. Here's Pegler sounding off on the contempt powers of judges:

> [I]t has always been my idea that if a citizen called a judge a crook, a bar fly or a big, dumb dope to his face in Court, he ought to have a chance to prove up.
>
> It is certainly no discovery of mine that judges have sat upon the bench, enjoying all the tyrannical powers of the Court, who ought to have been busting rock themselves and who would have been flattered by the name of porch climber. The porch climber is at least not fouling up an institution to which the ordinary citizen must look for his justice when he finds himself in trouble one way or another....
>
> Yet it must always be "your honor" this and "May it please the Court" that, and cases are always breaking into print in which judges maliciously increase the punishment of convicted persons merely because they would not cringe.

When the task was to make a reader see, Pegler could do that too. These paragraphs are from a column he wrote from the 1936 winter Olympics hosted by Hitler's Germany:

> You must picture this town. Ten thousand swastikas stir faintly in the light winter wind along the streets of Garmisch-Partenkirchen. The flag is the color of blood, with a white circle containing an ancient device in black. The swastika flies from every house and store, and some homes are adorned with long ribbons of little pennants strung together

> from window to window, fifty or a hundred swastikas in a row.
>
> Soldiers are everywhere in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, where the athletes of many nations are competing on ice and snow in the brotherhood of sports. There are soldiers in the old German field gray, soldiers of the labor corps in brown, and special soldiers of the Black Guard in black and silver. All the soldiers wear the swastika, and it is seen again on the red post-office trucks and the army transports, which go tearing through the streets off into the mysterious mountains splashing melted slush onto the narrow footway.

For a change of pace, Pegler might ridicule himself instead of someone else. He once wrote a column that consisted of the sentence, "I must not mix champagne, whiskey and gin," written fifty times. He kept a character called "George Spelvin, American," waiting in the the wings to come on and satirize plain American values when the need arose, values which were Pegler's own.

Nothing was sacred to Pegler, including himself. Pegler the columnist once wrote:

> Of all the fantastic fogshapes that have risen off the swamp of confusion since the big war, the most futile and, at the same time, the most pretentious, is the deep-thinking, hair-trigger columnist or commentator who knows all the answers just offhand and can settle great affairs with absolute finality three days or even six days a week.

Frank Westbrook Pegler was born in Minneapolis in 1894 and grew up in Chicago, the son of a well-known newspaperman in that great newspaper town. His father arranged for him to go to work as a copy boy for United Press at the age of 16. Pegler's biographer Finis Farr makes an interesting point about Pegler's introduction to journalism. United Press was known for its trenchant and entertaining style, and as part of his daily routine Pegler read this copy over the telephone to newspapers too small to have a telegraph wire. Thus Pegler learned newswriting by ear as well as through the eye.

After the typical reporter's apprenticeship of brief periods with a number of papers, UP rehired Pegler as a full reporter and, though he was only 22, sent him to its London bureau to cover World War I. He did not make his reputation as a war correspondent, however. His press credentials were revoked because he asked embarrassing questions of the generals.

After the war (and brief service in the Navy), he switched to sports writing because, he said, he saw sports writers were paid better. No doubt because of this insincere motive for being in sports, his eye often drifted from the games themselves and lit on the peculiar, funny or outrageous for copy. It set him apart from other sports writers, and in 1925 he was hired away from United Press by the Chicago Tribune Syndicate. His column in the *Tribune* often abandoned sports completely and talked about whatever

grabbed Pegler's attention. In 1933, he was hired as a general commentator by the Scripps-owned New York *World-Telegram.* His column ran at the other side of a page from Heywood Broun's.

Distributed by Scripps-Howard's United Features Syndicate, Pegler became, with Broun, Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson and a handful of others, one of the national figures read each day by a nation of newspaper buyers. In 1940, Pegler's column appeared in 114 newspapers with a readership of 6.5 million. He was re-read in the form of collections of his columns, *'T Aint Right* (1936), *The Dissenting Opinions* (1938), and *George Spelvin, American* (1942).

If Lippmann sold insight and Walter Winchell gossip, Pegler's stock in trade was umbrage. Biographer Finis Farr said Pegler had apparently been born with a surfeit of "the instinct that makes a dog bark at strangers." He was always upset at someone, usually someone with authority. He called William Randolph Hearst "the leading American Fascist" and J. Edgar Hoover "a night-club fly-cop." No wonder that when he went to Germany to cover the winter Olympics Pegler reacted viscerally. While some other writers were averring that "after all" Hitler was the legitimate leader of a nation and the Olympics gave hope of international understanding, Pegler pointed out to his readers that his host, Hitler, was a thug, and nearly all Germans were cowards, "afraid of one another, afraid of the police, afraid of the janitor, the waiter and the housemaid...."

Pegler, Alistair Cooke observed once, was "plainly not the kind of reporter to be brushed off by a handout, or a telephone call, or a presidential 'no comment'." When he heard in 1940 that Hollywood unions had been infested with crooked union leaders, including one named, with Dickensian perfection, Willie Bioff, Pegler launched a multi-city investigation of its leaders. The first column exposing the corrupt leaders began, "Willie Bioff is a convicted pimp." Bioff and his partner went to prison and Pegler won a Pulitzer Prize.

The problem was, Pegler's towering anger was not limited to Nazis, corrupt union leaders and other enemies of the people. He wrote columns just as venomous against the Roosevelts, union leaders who were not corrupt, and personal enemies. Pegler once described H.L. Mencken as "not so much a crusader as the mischievous brat of the whole American neighborhood." It was a fair description of Mencken, but it fit Pegler himself even better.

When Heywood Broun, the courageous champion of unionism in the newspaper business, had a naive flirtation with socialism, Pegler irrationally managed to construe it as an endorsement of Stalinism. Pegler hated unions and Stalinism, and with his estimable powers he vilified Broun in print. When in the middle of this campaign, Broun died suddenly of pneumonia, Pegler never uttered a word to balance the picture of a former friend and the man an obituary in *Current Biography* called "probably the best loved figure in American Journalism."

There is some justice in the fact that it was ultimately his treatment of Broun that brought Pegler down. In 1949, another old friend, magazine journalist Quentin Reynolds, wrote a review of a new biography of Heywood Broun. In the book review, Reynolds reported that Broun was deeply disturbed by Pegler's attacks. Pegler took this as

an insinuation that he had been a cause of Broun's death. A vengeful Pegler trained his sights on Reynolds. In print, Pegler called Reynolds a coward, a war profiteer, a hypocrite, and an immoral nudist who had a "protuberant belly filled with something else than guts." With clever insinuation, Pegler managed to make the fact-less column suggest that there was a lot less to one of the country's most famous war correspondents than most people thought.

Reynolds hired the famous attorney Louis Nizer and filed suit. Nizer presented testimony from dozens of war heros, starting with Lord Louis Montbatten himself, describing innumerable cases of Reynold's courage under fire. Again and again in the intensely covered proceedings Pegler came off as having set out without facts to destroy a good reputation. One of the minor accusations Pegler had made against Reynolds was that he had proposed marriage to Broun's widow as the two rode to the cemetery to bury Broun. Nizer put a bishop on the stand who had also been in the funeral car to refute the accusation.

The jury awarded Reynolds $175,000 – at the time the largest libel penalty in history. Pegler and his syndicate tried to shrug it off as a hazard of hard newspapering, but in fact Pegler had been shown to be a mean-spirited liar.

From that time forward everything seemed to collapse around him. The following year Pegler's long-ailing, beloved wife, Julie, died of a heart attack. Pegler, now 61, cut back his columns to three times a week. Even many of these were spiked by the syndicate as unsuitable for print. His relationship with Hearst and United Features was already strained when Pegler stood up at a Christian crusade rally in 1962 and denounced his employers as being one of the serious problems of the modern world. His syndicated column ended the next day.

Pegler began writing for *American Opinion*, the publication of the John Birch Society, but eventually even that right-wing organization found rantings about the Roosevelts, the Jews, and unions tiresome and let him go. Pegler spent his last years writing paranoic effusions to no one. He died of a heart attack 24 June 1969.

His pathetic ending may tempt historians to think that Pegler is best forgotten, or to be remembered primarily as a cautionary. Actually, his psychological problems might be seen as proof that he cannot be discarded. It is amazing that Pegler's writing was powerful enough to bear the burden of his psychological problems; any less of a writer would have been dismissed by editors and readers much earlier. That is what makes him important to journalism despite everything. Westbrook Pegler knew how to make the printed word interesting.

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A 'Wallbreaking' Begins Work on Freedom Forum's Newseum

With the swing of a hammer instead of the usual ground-breaking shovel, the Freedom Forum began construction in April of a Newseum in the first three floors of the Forum's headquarters building in Arlington.

Allen H. Neuharth, chair of the Forum, did the honors. In remarks at the ceremony, he said: "News is the gobal glue that brings free societies together. The Newseum will foster that bonding with living history."

The Newseum will be a 55,000 square foot facility designed to tell the story of news, past, present, and future, along with the significant influence of the First Amendment in media development. Historic artifacts and state-of-the-art multimedia displays will be designed for all kinds of Newseum visitors. Opening of the facility is scheduled for 1997.

The director of the Newseum is Christine Wells, a Freedom Forum vice president. It is, she noted in a speech May 14, a one-of-a-kind educational facility, the world's only major museum dedicated exclusively to news. What they hope to achieve, she says, is nothing less than a renaissance:

"An educational renaissance that uses current events to get children interested in the world.

"A museum renaissance that shows how you can grab a visitor's atttention without sacrificing historical precision.

"A digital rennaissance that is turning all the world's intellectual property into powerful multimedia databases.

"A media renaissance in which professionalism is grdowing and consumers have a greater say than ever before.

"And, most importantly, a political renaissance that is brining freedom to surprising places."

The Newseum will include: a "News Wall" a city block long with real-time newsfeeds and front pages from across the nation, a theater with the largest HDTV screen in the Washington, D. C., area, a news forum/tv studio for debate on critical news isues, a news-history walk to tell the story of newsgathering from the first spoken news to today's electronic journalism, interactive exhibits, and a memorial to journalists who died while reporting the news.

Ralph Appelbaum Associates of New York, the largest interpretive museum firm in the world, is the project's designer. Joel N. Bloom, president emeritus of the Franklin Institute, is the project's museum consultant.

Eric Newton is managing editor of the Newseum, and was scheduled to speak at the annual convention of AJHA at Roanoke in October.

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J. Donald Brandt, ***A History of Gannett, 1906-1993.*** Arlington, Va.: Gannett Co., 1993. 548 pp. Cloth.

All you ever wanted to know about Gannett this book is not. It is an admiring portrait by a long-time employee, predictably long on praise and short on criticism. It is, nevertheless, a useful addition to media history, mainly for its gathering of basic factual material. It also has the virtue of having been written by a newsman interested in preserving details of the journalistic craft, customs, conventions, and adaptations that have occurred across the almost century-long span of Gannett's existence. Those details tend, of course, to reflect favor on founder Frank E. Gannett and all his associates and successors. There is little of the tug and pull of office politics, power struggles, stumbles, and miscalculations that are an inevitable part of business life.

The story of the rise of Frank Gannett is much like that of other successful publishers/entrepreneurs. A man of energy, drive, intelligence, and business acumen, he graduated from Cornell in 1898. While in college he began working as a student reporter, and shortly turned professional. He had saved $1,000 from his earnings by the time he graduated, moved up in editorial positions, and by 1906 entered the first of several partnerships in newspaper ownership. By 1924 he owned – though not free and clear – six newspapers and was confident enough of his future to reject William Randolph Hearst's offer of $6 million for those properties. He became influential in Republican circles and was an avid anti-New Dealer and supporter of Alfred M. Landon in 1936. But he did not dictate his papers' editorial policies, and some, including the *Hartford Times*, supported Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1940, Gannett tried unsuccessfully to win the Republican nomination for president.

Gannett died in 1957 and his company went public a decade later. It had seven thousand employees then; thirty-seven thousand twenty-five years later in 1992. The stories of Frank Gannett's successors – Paul Miller, Al Neuharth, and John Curley – as well as those of other key players as the company continued to grow, and, of course, of the development of *USA Today*, occupy about half the book. Upbeat though they are, these are both interesting and historically valuable. There also is substantial information on the company's acquisitions, including costs. An appendix lists all its holdings as of 1993, among them eighty-two daily newspapers, ten television and fifteen radio stations, the largest outdoor advertising company in North America and the Louis Harris opinion polling organization.

The author J. Donald Brandt, worked for thirty-seven years as a newsman, most of them with Gannett, attaining the rank of "general executive." He initially conceived the project as an oral history, and lists thirty-three interviews in the acknowledgments. The major published sources are an official biography of the founder, published in 1948, *The Bulletin*, a confidential weekly publication for Gannett executives, and the company house organ, the *Gannetteer*. What is here is worth having, but somewhere there is more. One trusts it is being completely and carefully preserved for the eventual use of skilled, independent historians.

Daniel W. Pfaff, Penn State University

Michael J. Carlebach, *The Origins of Photojournalism in America.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. 208 pp. Paper, $29.95.

Let me begin by revealing a few biases: I am a long-time fan, practitioner and teacher of the photographic medium, Michael Carlebach is a respected peer of mine, and I enjoy reading photographic histories especially when I can relate the information to practical, present-day concerns. I am relieved to report that Carlebach doesn't disappoint.

Two of the primary issues for today's image makers is the inevitable transition between analog film to digital materials and the associated ethical concerns of the new, electronic medium. (Did Hillary Clinton wear an S&M outfit in the Oval Office? Did Tanya and Nancy ever skate together? Did Marilyn Monroe really know President Lincoln? – to give a few examples from recent covers). It is no wonder, then, that a book that traces the early history of photojournalism from the daguerreotype introduced in 1839 to the halftone process of 1880 should have so many helpful guidelines for predicting future visual communication challenges because in those forty-one years, the photographic medium underwent several major changes:

1) In the technical process – the precious and detailed daguerreotype and the fuzzy, but negative-producing calotype were eventually replaced by the messy, yet beautiful wet-collodion process that was superseded by the practical and modern gelatin dry plate.

2) In photographic publishing – prints simply glued within the pages of a book, as well as tintypes, carte de visites, cabinet and stereocards were replaced by wood and metal engravings based on photographs or expensive and time consuming Woodburytype or collotype printing processes until the halftone process revolutionized image/word production.

3) In the photographic culture – from itinerant daguerreotype photographers "begging" for sitters to respected Civil War and western documentarians "whose pictures make the world at once familiar and understandable."

Lessons learned and lost by nineteenth century photographers, publishers and consumers have direct bearing at this "hybrid" stage between paper and screen.

This is not to say that the work doesn't reveal many historical details that are interesting for their own merit. Here are some examples. Carlebach drops the acute accent from photography's founder Joseph Niepce because his family members preferred that spelling. (I would rather know the proper pronunciation of his name. Is it *Knee-EPPS* or simply *Neeps*, as said by one of my photography professors?). Carlebach reminds us of the roots of the photographer as "animal" with Nathaniel Hawthorne's unflattering description in *The House of the Seven Gables.* American photographer John Plumbe was the first to recognize the importance of preserving the famous faces of his day. On 9 May 1884, the first news photograph was taken by William and Frederick Langenheim during a military occupation of Philadelphia (curiously, not chosen for the cover). Stereocards were the equivalent of visual journalism, although the definition of "news" was certainly not as immediate as today.

Sarah Judd from Stillwater, Minnesota is (much too briefly) mentioned as the first photographer to set up shop in that state in 1844. P.T. Barnum, the profiteer, added to the credibility of news photographers by investing in a Frank

Leslie publication. After Fletcher Harper entered the publishing business, freelance photographers were needed in great numbers. A detailed description of photography and photographers during the Civil War years is also included. (It is a much appreciated chapter if, like me, you were disappointed that Ken Burns failed to elaborate on how the images were made during his otherwise excellent documentary).

In 1866, Ridgeway Glover was the first photojournalist killed while on assignment – by Sioux warriors outside of a Wyoming fort. In the 1870s, Elerslie Wallace gave fellow news photographers and those working today practical advice when he wrote, "Keep cool, don't get over-excited, and work as deliberately as possible."

With over 140 images from several historical collections, the book is not only a good read, but visually stimulating. My only major criticism of the work is that Carlebach never mentions he is working on two more volumes: photojournalism from 1880 to 1936 (*Life* magazine's introduction) and photojournalism from 1936 to the present time. Such treatment by a gifted writer, photographer and teacher will be of great value to the photojournalism profession, and to history.

Paul Martin Lester, California State University, Fullerton

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Claude S. Fischer, ***America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940.*** University of California Press, 1992. 424 pp. Paper, $25.

The question that animates this empirical analysis of the telephone's adoption and use is: "What difference has the telephone made in our lives?" Fischer's account combines archival, interview, and census data; the result is an amalgam of levels of analysis that lead to an interesting conclusion. People used the telephone to preserve and enhance their already established ways of life.

Fischer's account is consciously situated against two prevailing approaches to the study of technology. He defines his perspective as user-oriented, believing that understanding how a technology affects our lives should be based in concrete evidence of individual behaviors and experiences. He contrasts this "user perspective" with two others, a more mechanistic "impact" perspective that assumes technologies enter and transform social and psychological relations, and a more speculative "symptomatic" perspective that assumes that technologies embody deeper forces of social change. Both of these contrasting perspectives are critiqued for their sweeping and simplistic approach to the complex process whereby individuals employ and experience technology.

The study uses empirical evidence to challenge common sense assumptions about the impact and consequences of telephony. After a brief (and perhaps unnecessary) sketch of the history of the telephone industry, Fischer moves to a study of the marketing of the telephone, based on evidence from advertising and sales campaigns. The next chapter is a national diffusion analysis, based primarily in census data.

The heart of the book is the local study of three California communities: Antioch, Palo Alto, and San Rafael. These communities are compared for their adoption of the telephone (ch.5), and evidence from interview data enlivens a chapter on individual response and use (ch.8).

Intriguing evidence of the social ambiguity of the telephone is in a chapter based on advertisements and etiquette manuals.

Fischer's data combine to suggest that the telephone quickly became a mundane and nearly universal technology, an everyday necessity in modern life. It was relatively easily and unproblematically assimilated, and its influence was not dramatic or transformative. As Fischer argues in a variety of ways, the telephone is best understood as a "technology of sociability," enhancing already extant social and psychological patterns.

This conclusion is in contrast with the common assumption that the telephone was an "instrument of modernity," and thus an extension of modernity's presumed destruction of localism and authentic relations. Fischer is appropriately skeptical of the assumption that modernity involved a thinning and a hollowing out of social and psychological relations. The most valuable portions of his analysis are when he uses his study to suggest that such presumptions can and should be challenged, because there is little empirical evidence to support them.

The shape and tone of the book is a product of Fischer's commitment to the empirical investigation of commonsense claims about the relationships between technology and modernity. But there is a troubling tension in the argument, based in Fischer's desire to make this study stand as an example of how social analyses of technologies should proceed. He is deeply committed to empirical evidence, and to the importance of limiting speculation to what the data themselves can support. But he is also skeptical of, even impatient with, what can be called the "interpretive turn," the attempt to "read" the influence of technology from art, or texts, or social patterns.

Fischer dismisses, in brief asides or in footnotes, those who study the rhetoric or discourse of technologies. He describes them as "culture critics" who "pose challenging ideas," but who do not have the evidence necessary to back up their claims. As he says on p. 264, "It is a challenge to find reliable, relevant evidence. Thus these sorts of arguments [made by the unlikely trio of Stephen Kern, Joshua Meyerowitz, and Avital Ronnell] are difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate empirically."

Yet much of what makes his book, and ultimately his arguments, compelling is qualitative, interpretive, theoretical, based in "readings" of a variety of "texts." His collection of advertising material, the evidence of etiquette manuals, the quotations from interviews and memoirs are the strength of the book. This evidence is, of course, "empirical," but it still must be "read." Furthermore, most of his arguments rely, at some point, on the empirical-but-interpretive analyses of communication scholars, particularly Lana Rakow, Carolyn Marvin, and Jennifer Slack (misnamed Stack in the book).

Underlying his account is an unresolved tension about what constitutes appropriate evidence. Fischer has an explicit loyalty to behavioral and census data, and makes a convincing critique of abstract, facile answer to complex technological questions. But his dismissal of recent rhetorical, cultural, and critical perspectives on technology belies his ultimate reliance on what they offer – close readings of how historically and socially situated people experience, and make sense of, technologies. This reliance, in combination with his impressive collection of data, and the careful critique of simplistic assumptions about the impact or meaning of new technologies, is what makes this book worthwhile.

Fischer ends the book by saying that scholars are moving away from simplistic dichotomies – perhaps this is his way of signaling his own unacknowledged assimilation of the interpretive methods he barely discusses. This study shows the possibilities and limits of careful statistical analyses of the adoption, diffusion, and deployment of new technologies. It also suggests the importance of developing empirical studies that explicitly acknowledge the richness and insight of current interpretive work.

Joli Jensen, University of Tulsa

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Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Lynn Luskey, ***Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography.*** Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. 176 pp. Cloth, $39.95.

The "new" West and its vanishing Native American tribes at the turn of the century are the subject of this over-sized book, which includes many never-before-published images among its 100 photographs, four paintings, and lithographs. Fleming, the photographic archivist of the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian who is responsible for more than 350,000 photographs, worked with Luskey, a visual anthropologist who died about six months before this book was published. These two scholars collaborated on *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* published in 1986, which comprehensively centered on the four great surveys (1867-1879).

In *Grand Endeavors of American Indian Photography*, the authors summarize their goals in the following passage:

> It would be wrong to assume that all the photographers who took as their subjects the American Indians were masters of their art, and in fact only a small percentage produced exceptional photographs. The intention of this book is to look more closely at some of these masterworks, to give an insight into the lives of the photographers who created them, and most importantly, to allow the reader to appreciate their beauty, which raises them beyond the considerations of technical craftsmanship to become art.

The masters include pictorialists Edward S. Curtis and Roland W. Reed. Together they detailed in artistic and ethnographic detail the Crow, Pueblo, Apache, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, Navaho, Ojibway, Kiowa, Mohave, and Gros Ventre nations, among others. Curtis is well-known for spending three decades gathering information and photographing native cultures he thought were rapidly disappearing. Unfortunately, historians looking at Curtis' controversial photographs as documents about the true state of native Americans in the early part of this century will be disappointed. Curtis idealized native American life on the reservation, insisting they reenact ceremonies and battles while stripping then of any signs of the already-present Western culture.

While the masters are an important part of this book, lesser-known photographers, including the Gerhard sisters of St. Louis, set up studios at world's fairs and expositions, where they captured the Indian delegations on film. Other photographers, like Sumner W. Matteson, often lived with their

subjects to gain access to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska and the Brule Sioux of South Dakota.

Nineteenth-century artists, including George Catlin, Thomas McKenney, Charles Bird King, John Mix Stanley, and William Henry Blackmore, are the focus of the opening chapter, "Early Grand Endeavors." Their painting and lithographs, dating back to the mid to late 1880s, serve as the starting point of the dream of "creating an all-encompassing record of the American Indians," which was to fail, but yet set the stage for the photographs that were to come.

While not as comprehensive as their first book, the two books together form an interesting and balanced picture difficult times in American history. Researchers will appreciate the care with which this book was written, and will be aided in their own work by the footnotes, picture credits, detailed bibliography, and helpful index.

C. Zoe Smith, University of Missouri-Columbia

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Howard Good, ***The Journalist as Autobiographer.*** Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1993. 190 pp. Cloth, $25.

If biographers see their own reflections when they stare at the faces of their subjects, whom do autobiographers see? Sinister demons caused by traumatic upheavals, according to Howard Good's reading of eight journalists' autobiographies.

Good says these journalists, all working at the verge of modernity, "did not always understand the whispers of their own inner selves, the secret messages encoded in their memories." The exception is perhaps Vincent Sheean, whose *Personal History* is passionate and highly introspective. Even Sheean had blind spots; his admiration for a certain female revolutionary constituted, Good says, "sublimination on a rather vast scale." In any case, these journalists accomplished what novelists failed to do. By making their lives into works of art, they produced great literature about journalism.

Good has no concern for what these books say about journalism. Instead, he explores why these writers turned to autobiography, reasons he assumes are rooted in deeply-scarred psyches. Sure enough, he sees each writer as driven by desperate fears and anxieties, the need to escape a darkening sense of chaos and to plug threatening cracks in their otherwise fragile sense of identity. These mechanisms are presumed operative even when the autobiographer objected. Calling the nostalgia-laden yarns in H.L. Mencken's trilogy "an evasion and a lie," Good suspects that Mencken "must have" carried hidden wounds. "Without his ever realizing it, a certain ambivalence toward the bourgeois household in which he grew up... crept into the *Days* books. For a man given to frequent mocking references to the 'Freudian rumble-bumble,' he was curiously full of subconscious tensions."

On one case the question may be whether the book is autobiography. Julian Ralph said the purpose of *The Making of a Journalist* was providing advice to would-be journalists. This is precisely how I read Ralph's book. But while some readers might complain that Ralph's efforts to turn his experiences and those of others into inspiration turned out ponderous, if not pretentious, Good responds that Ralph was "rationalizing," that he was compelled by "deep

personal need," and that Ralph's humble tone was a subterfuge, "adopted as protection against both the judgments of unknown readers and the torments of self-analysis." "In fact," Good says, Ralph wrote the book because "in the middle of the journey of his life, he came to a 'dark wood where the straight way was lost.' " Caution: those last words are Dante's, not Ralph's.

One thought-provoking chapter deals with stunt girl Elizabeth Jordan, sob sister Joan Lowell, and city editor Agness Underwood. Each struggled to explain how, or if, she could reconcile being a reporter with being a woman. Jordan was humble to an extreme, attributing her accomplishments to luck and to others' help. No reductive psychoanalytic framework is necessary to suggest that Jordan's modesty about her hard work fits the pattern of women who worry that they are imposters. Good correctly notes that Underwood presents herself in her autobiography in the same anti-feminist, anti-woman, vulgar, tough guy pose she used in the newsroom. But, having told readers that Jordan ran from men and sex after a creepy incident and that Lowell exploited and flaunted her sexuality, Good does not mention how Underwood handled her two children. Instead, he asserts that Underwood suffered from "chronic insecurity," her mother's death having evidently "repressed Underwood's urge to nurture."

Good, whose other book dealt with the image of journalists in fiction and in film, has another wonderful topic here. Furthermore, for all the psychoanalytic apparatus, Good also provides useful historical context. His overview of the emergence of journalists' interest in professionalism is particularly helpful. Having done his homework in the theoretical literature on biography, autobiography, and feminism, Good integrates his sources seamlessly. Finally, Good's writing is highly readable, well organized, and free of self-indulgence.

Linda Steiner, Rutgers University

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Ann Hawthorne, ed., ***The Picture Man: Photographs by Paul Buchanan.*** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993. 126 pp. Cloth, $24.95; paper $12.95.

Cecil K Byrd, ed., ***Frank M. Hohenberger's Indiana Photographs.*** Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. 138 pp. Cloth, $35; paper, $19.95.

Photographs are often viewed as closely corresponding to reality. But it is important to remember that all photographs, whether produced for commercial interests, news operations or documentary purposes, are constructed interpretations of the world. Such a perspective should ground one's understanding of the historical images in *The Picture Man* and *Frank M. Hohenberger's Indiana Photographs.*

Exploring *The Picture Man* is both rewarding and frustrating. If one considers it a coffee-table compendium rather than a scholarly endeavor, the book is charming. But the reading experience might be less satisfying if one approaches the book and its pages of black-and-white photographs as "history" that "tells us who we were and who we are," which television news correspondent Bruce Morton suggests in the book's Foreword.

The book details the work of Paul Buchanan, a photographer who roamed four counties of North Carolina from the 1920s until 1951. Buchanan

earned a living producing photographs for Appalachian families. His black-and-white work was mostly portraiture, produced from aged cameras left to him by his father. The "Picture Man," as his subjects called him, received no formal training. People would pose in front of Buchanan's cameras and then await his return with the finished products, which were hand-printed contacts, each washed in a creek near Buchanan's home.

But as Instamatics swept the nation, fewer mountain people needed his work. Buchanan retired his cameras in 1951. He had stopped making photographs for more than thirty years when freelance-photographer Ann Hawthorne heard of his work and began visiting him. Hawthorne viewed Buchanan's negatives, which he resurrected for her from filthy, rat-infested boxes. Buchanan died in 1987, and now Hawthorne has assembled Buchanan's tales as well as nearly 100 exquisitely reproduced images of Buchanan's subjects.

Buchanan's images are certainly, as Alan Trachtenberg might say, "cultural texts." They provide evidence of what North Carolina mountain people valued, how they viewed themselves. Buchanan's work is similar to August Sander's 'natural portraits' of Germans during the 1920s. Like Sander, Buchanan entered the domain of his subjects and allowed them to present their ideas about them selves.

It is the enhanced 'naturalness' of Buchanan's images that fascinates. He allowed people to pose themselves. He didn't suggest how subjects should dress. He didn't try to coax smiles. This lends a veracity to his images absent in highly constructed professional portraits – or, as Hawthorne suggests, in the work of numerous Depression-era documentary photographers. She points to the 1930s photography of Doris Ullman, Muriel Sheppard, and Bayard Wootten, who all selected and posed subjects, and often had them dress in "old, quaint clothes" in order to enhance the "romanticized image of Appalachians."

However, despite the honesty of Buchanan's images, Hawthorne leaves large gaps in Buchanan's story. She seems to struggle to find enough to write about him. For example, she presents information from only one short interview with Buchanan. Little is revealed of the number of number and type of negatives he made, and most of the book's images are not accompanied by text indicating dates, names, or places. This diminishes the historical value of his photographs. In short, Hawthorne's vignette of Buchanan's work is powerful and somewhat enchanting, but incomplete.

In contrast, the handsomely reproduced prints presented in *Frank M. Hohenberger's Indiana Photographs* are well-documented – nearly every image is accompanied by text that explains where the photograph was made and who or what the subjects were. But then Cecil Byrd, the former Indiana University librarian who edited *Indiana Photographs,* had much more to work with. Unlike Buchanan, Hohenberger was a nationally known professional photographer, lecturer, and columnist for the *Sunday Indianapolis Star.* From 1917 to 1963, Hohenberger sold thousands of his prints to newspapers, magazines, and individuals. He traveled far from his studio in Nashville, Indiana, to photograph the state's urban streets, buildings, bridges, pastoral scenes and rural historic landmarks, such as log cabins or gristmills. He also made hundreds of what he called "character studies" of individuals, mostly farmers and small-town citizens, involved in daily activities such as drying apples, weaving, or making soap.

Byrd selected 124 black-and-white images from more than seventeen thousand prints and negatives in the Hohenberger collection at Indiana University. The images, which are examples of Hohenberger's work taken throughout the state between 1904 and 1950, depict many of the subjects Hohenberger was fond of recording. His works fall into the tradition of early twentieth-century documentary photography – they are a blend of the picturesque in form and historically significant in content. Hohenberger, always the professional, used the pictorial code well, with appropriate framing, leading lines, and the rule of thirds dominating his prints. His photographs have a rustic Norman Rockwell quality. They are extremely palatable postcard images, not aesthetically or socially jarring.

But it is the very refinement of Hohenberger's images that readers must scrutinize if they see historical value – and validity – in his work. Both Buchanan's and Hohenberger's photographs have served as commodities, but Hohenberger's images are much more sophisticated commercial productions, often meant for sale to mass media. They celebrate Indiana's history, but it is a particular history, conventional in style and mainstream in subject.

Thus, while Buchanan's images offer a homespun honesty, their presentation is rather fragmented and incomplete. While Hohenberger's images are rich, thorough and well-documented by Byrd, the photographs are fundamentally polished and standardized commercial productions. If one can keep such dichotomies in mind, both books are worthwhile reading.

Chuck Lewis, Mankato State University

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Howard Kurtz, ***Media Circus: The Trouble with America's Newspapers.*** New York: Times Books, 1993. 374 pp. Cloth, $25.

Mort Rosenblum. ***Who Stole the News? Why We Can't Keep Up with What Happens in the World.*** New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1993. 291 pp. Cloth, $24.95.

If one did not have a jaundiced view of U.S. politics, reading *Media Circus* should cure that. Assessing the state of newspapers, Howard Kurtz paints a candid but unflattering portrait of journalists, politicians, and pundits. The Reverend Al Sharpton is "a shrewd tactician who fulfilled the media's need to reduce complex issues to personalities" (p.74). National Public Radio's Nina Totenberg was fired from the *National Observer* in the mid-1970s for plagiarism.

Kurtz, the *Washington Post*'s media critic, is refreshingly scrupulous about ethics. Further, he does his homework. For instance, in critiquing the right-wing *Washington Time*'s attempt to pillory Rep. Barney Frank for a domestic scandal, Kurtz notes that in less than a month, the paper ran 45 stories on the case, 22 of them on the front page.

The book's key omission is in its analyses of the reasons for press failures: For instance, the savings and loan scandal went unreported for a long time largely because political reporters and financial reporters do not cooperate. Elsewhere Kurtz notes that, to report a story, journalists rely on conflict among political elites. But he fails to connect this to the fact that both political parties

were involved in the savings and loan scandal, up to their necks. Instead, he concludes that "chastened journalists vowed not to be caught asleep at the switch again" (p.67). After nearly two centuries of observing political corruption, Washington journalists simply have no excuse for missing a mammoth scandal.

Similarly, Kurtz's views on the press are, in places, awfully generous. He writes that in the 1970s "an adversarial culture had flourished in the press" (p.311). After a few days of patriotic journalism at the start of the Gulf War, "our skeptical instincts returned" (p.226). Quite the contrary, virtually all the coverage adhered to the Pentagon's line, as John MacArthur documents in the *Second Front.*

Kurtz's worldview is more fully explicated in his description of the press: "The truth is that the 'media' have no unified agenda... News organizations are simply too diverse and idiosyncratic to hew to a single policy line" (pp. 138,139). If this is so, then where was the critical reporting on the Reagan administration's Central America policies? On the U.S. invasion of Panama? On the Gulf War?

Similarly, Kurtz avoids any examination of the news media's political economy. He is concerned that the press is "increasingly disconnected from its downscale readers" (p.31), and that "today's editors have become focus-group groupies" (p. 339). But he does not address why these things have happened. In *The Media Monopoly*, Ben Bagdikian explains that newspapers seek "upscale" readers and actively seek to shed any poor people who may be readers, in order to deliver the right demographics to advertisers. Editors have gotten with the program, or else they are no longer employed, as Doug Underwood explains in *When MBAs Rule the Newsroom.* All of this stems from the U.S. corporate sector's ownership of the news media, which Kurtz skims over very lightly indeed, as does Mort Rosenblum.

More than thirty years ago, A.J. Liebling wrote that "two-thirds of the foreign news reaching the United States" comes from "the foreign staffs of the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune.*" So he concluded, this supply "depends largely on how best a number of drygoods merchants in New York think they can sell underwear." Things have not improved much, according to the Rosenblum. A long-time foreign correspondent and the author of several books and the subject, Rosenblum says that it is not easy work. It can be exciting and, at times dangerous, and the U.S. news media do not do enough of it. But mostly, foreign correspondents are hemmed in by uncooperative governments, critics on the Left and on the Right, and unimaginative editors.

Most intriguing is Rosenblum's insistence that "no one can define news" (p. 232). Yet he also maintains that "reporting means going to where news is hiding and kicking down the doors until they find it" (p.169) Similarly, he writes that "each (reporter) must fight against inherent biases" (p.43), since "the goal is objectivity" (p.55). yet in the same chapter he writes of his and his fellow reporters' "dancing in Red Square the night that communism died" (p.46). This is fine, provided that these reporters are equally willing to dance at the Washington Monument the night that capitalism dies and a socialist republic is proclaimed in the United States. Otherwise, they're biased.

Like Kurtz, Rosenblum insists that "there is no 'media conspiracy'; inadvertent, inherent biases spoil any harmony" (p. 8). Yet Rosenblum notes that in 1989, the U.S. news media paid less attention to forty African nations than "to the trial of Zsa Zsa Gabor for slugging a Beverly Hills cop" (p. 270).

Or here's Rosenblum on the Gulf War: "All of us bought the myth that a nearly naked emperor was clad in triple-ply armor" (p.117). Sounds like harmony to me.

The book does offer many rich anecdotes about stupid editors, corrupt government officials, and shallow television reporters. It has praise for brave and honorable correspondents. It also offers insight into the differing routines and priorities of the various forms of news media – television, newsweekly magazines, wire services, and daily newspapers.

But whereas Liebling focused on newspapers' political economy, Rosenblum avoids it. Instead, Rosenblum concludes that readers must speak up: Then editors will comply, and the "grinches at the top... making money with a clear conscience, can smile again" (p. 280). In effect, both Kurtz and Rosenblum ignore media ownership and argue for the individualistic and idiosyncratic nature of U.S. daily journalism – all the while relating case after case of uniform collective behavior. It is precisely because both authors have this mindset that they are employed by the corporate sector, which owns virtually all the mainstream U.S. news media.

William S. Soloman, Rutgers University

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Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993. 309 pp. Cloth, $59.95; paper, $19.95.

Reading National Geographic is an excellent historical and qualitative study of America's most popular photographic magazine. It is also a cautionary tale. This carefully crafted study of the coffee-table symbol of American middle-class cosmopolitanism reveals how media – especially those with arguably "scientific" credentials – promote the political and ideological interests of their producers by creating "pictures in our heads" of the "world outside." The book cautions readers of *National Geographic* and the media consumers generally to see through the myriad images purporting to be "reality" in two dimensions, and to recognize that journalists and scholars reveal much more about their own values of race, gender, privilege, progress, and modernity than about the "foreign" culture they claim portray.

Authors Lutz and Collins, an anthropologist and a sociologist respectively, argue – in the tradition of Dorfman and Mattelart's *How to Read Donald Duck* (1975) – that *National Geographic* promotes conservative pro-Western humanism and "Marlboro Country" images of non-Western race and gender. But this is no leftist tirade. Rather, the book systematically documents and analyzes the magazine's implicit and explicit Western eisegesis of Third World cultures.

From the introductory historical overview of the Society and its flagship publication, the authors show the complex ways the magazine's editors have used and continue to use photos to reinforce popular American images of the world beyond the U.S. borders. From its inception, the magazine has offered its images as scientifically valid, empirical evidence gathered by "experts." However, the authors argue, the Society has shaped its mission in tandem with U.S. foreign policy and the magazine has framed its photos to reflect America's shifting foreign relations. Tracing the conceptual and technical development of

the magazine decade by decade, they demonstrate, for example, how Westerners who were once included in photographs of "exotic" cultures to establish a "we-were-there" authenticity gradually vanished from the pages of the *Geographic* by the late 1960s, especially as charges of American colonialism or cultural imperialism surfaced from abroad. The regions, nations, and topics covered – and not covered – in the *Geographic* have reflected and continue to reflect a conservative sensitivity to American political and economic interests internationally.

Subsequent chapters provide numerous examples of how the magazine embodies discernible cultural biases, especially in matters of race and gender. The authors, noting that most employees at the Society have been historically white and male, found that *Geographic* photos between 1950 and 1986 included naked "dark-skinned women" more for their "aesthetic" value than for their "ethnographic" merit. Naked "light-skinned women" are exceedingly rare and noticeably absent from the *Geographic*'s pages even in stories dealing with nude beaches in the Mediterranean. Women, according to the authors, are often shown in soft focus and carefully posed or framed to exemplify Western standards of beauty, not the standards of the subject's own culture. Images of gender in the *Geographic* are shown to be remarkably similar to the commercial objectification of women in American advertisements. An uncritical Western exploitation of femininity and sensuality, not ethnographic sensitivity, govern the images.

The *Geographic*'s images of the Third World often have a travelogue character – shying away from shocking scenes of poverty, brutality or misery, and focusing instead on "beautiful," "non-controversial" and "balanced" subjects and topics. The Washington D.C.-based Society uses photographs and concepts that reaffirm official points of view from the nation's capital and reassure its subscribers of the popular understanding of distant and less fortunate (i.e., non-American) peoples.

Conceptually and methodologically, the book is a model for cultural and media studies. The only obvious limitation in the book is its minimal treatment of the nature and importance of the text that fills the space around the pictures. But the oversight is justifiable considering that the magazine's photographs are its most powerful and attention-grabbing element. Most "readers" of the *National Geographic* follow the images, not the text.

Reading National Geographic also issues a warning to scholars in all fields who objectify their subjects and ignore their influence on them. The authors note, for example, that the *Geographic*'s images obscure the American relationship with the Third World that have structured life there in profound ways. Rather than simply confirming complacent or self-congratulatory American identities, the book questions the power we – and *National Geographic* – have had to control the lives of others and leave our own unexamined. This caution and warning should be heeded by journalists and "scientists" – especially those within media and cultural studies.

Roy Atwood, University of Idaho

Willie Morris, ***New York Days***. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1993. 396 pp. Cloth, $24.95.

Underneath the facts and figures that make up the raw material of its historical reality, journalism history, like all other forms of history, has its animating myths – Ur-texts, narrative cycles, oft-told tales of heroes and demons, now repeated not around campfires but over second drinks after work. The *dramatis personae* of the core legends represent a variety of characters: the hard-bitten, seen-it-all, been-there, done-that crime reporter with, really, a heart of purest gold; the driven art director or illustrator struggling to reconcile the demands of a commercial vocation with the higher calling of True Art; or the patrician publisher who, beset by business pressures or government threats, finds a way at the moment of *dénouement* to preserve letter and spirit of the First Amendment. Perhaps the most compelling of all of such myth cycles is that narrative of distilled ambition, so completely American in its social mobility and settings: the bright young journalist from the provinces comes to The Big City, climbs the heights of fame and glory, falls, and returns home. Maybe wiser, maybe not.

In the instance of *New York Days*, Willie Morris's memoir of his brief, incandescent experience as the editor in chief of *Harper's* Magazine more than two decades ago, it is hard to say whether or not any wisdom was actually gotten. What is beyond doubt, however, is the ravenous appetite for intellectual adventure and, less nobly, literary celebritude, with which the author approached his late-1960s sojourn in New York. "I came to see the city," the book begins, "and it changed my life. I was exalted by it, exulted in it. I was a young man at a great personal threshold in a place and a moment throbbing with possibility."

Only twenty-eight when he arrived in the city in 1963 from Mississippi via the University of Texas, a Rhodes scholarship at Oxford, and a stint at the *Texas Observer*, Morris, like so many other ambitious, talented youths at Gotham's gates, could well have repeated Oscar Wilde's Custom House pronouncement: "I have nothing to declare except my genius." Four years later at age 32, after a term as a junior editor at *Harper's*, he became the youngest editor-in-chief in the magazine's 117-year history. Four years after that, he was gone.

Between his 1967 appointment and his 1971 resignation, it is probably fair to assert that Morris, and his colleagues, made journalism history. There is no question he had an eye for talent. John Corry, Midge Decter, Marshall Frady, David Halberstam, Larry L. King, and Gay Talese joined the staff of the magazine, and the work of contributors such as Joan Didion, Seymour Hersh, John Styron, and Norman Mailer filled its pages. The latter, in particular, had a special claim on the editor's affections. The entire March 1968 issue, for example, was given over to Mailer's 90,000-word piece, "The Steps of the Pentagon," which in book form as *Armies of the Night* later won a Pulitzer Prize and national Book Award. Similarly, the March 1971 issue, Morris's last as editor, was completely devoted to Mailer's "Prisoner of Sex"; it was the best-selling newsstand issue in the magazine's history. Nevertheless, ever-worsening differences of both editorial style and political opinion with the publication's owners, the Cowles family of Minneapolis, eventually brought Morris's time in New York to an end. He returned to Mississippi.

Like his earlier memoir, *North Toward Home* (1967), *New York Days* is a celebration of possibilities. As such, it is perhaps best read as a chronicle of one branch of late-1960s advocacy journalism. Of special note, moreover, is the

language of the book. Long since returned to his Mississippi roots, Morris writes in that uniquely florid grandiloquence of the high Southern Style, and I simply cannot imagine an authorial voice more tonally perfect to capture the distant remembrances of one young man's literary jubilation.

David Abrahamson, Northwestern University

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Wayne Munson, ***All Talk: The Talkshow in Media Culture***. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993. x + 216 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

In this book, Wayne Munson "grapples with," as he puts it, the American radio and television talkshow from an analytic standpoint. Additionally, he seeks to appreciate the genre and thus offer a corrective to its disparagers among conservative academics and "even 'middle-ground'" media professionals.

Munson attempts to understand a phenomenon that encompasses a great variety of particular forms – news talkshows, advice programs, sports talkshows, news magazine shows, daytime talk/service shows, celebrity chat programs, among present-day types. Indeed, readers should emerge from *All Talk* with a heightened recognition of these forms. But more significantly, Munson has managed to comprehend his subject in an intelligent polemical frame. The talkshow, he argues, is both a populistic arena and an instrument for commercial advertising.

What carries this argument is Munson's definition of the talkshow as a genre fueled by (1) "the people's" desire to express itself and to be heard and counted and (2) entrepreneurial cunning that finds profitable ways to assuage this desire by creating a populistic and engaging "everybody-in" talk forum. Munson links these elements to the talkshow by proposing that they are also the crucial components of such (proposed) American precursors of the genre as the lyceum lecture, cabaret entertainment, and the woman's magazine. According to Munson, these precursors all responded to valorizations of populist wisdom and self-improving potential even as their enterprising proprietors and investors were out to make a profit. These phenomena, along with a number of pre-1950s talk and amusement space such as the coffeehouse, the saloon, the dance hall, and the amusement park, were, Munson suggests, hallmarks of a new "commercialization of leisure" which combined populist interactivity and expression with slick entertainment.

It is, then, an imputed legacy of democratizing aspiration and commercial design that Munson finds in the contemporary talkshow, a genre which, he claims, reaches a major developmental milestone in the sixties. To be sure, histories of the genre might seriously begin with this decade, because it saw a number of radio stations (including KMOX in St. Louis, KVOR in Colorado Springs, and KABC in Los Angeles) wholly converting to talk formats, while none had before; and it saw the emergence of such nationally famous radio talkshows as *The Joe Pyne Show*, *Talk with Bob Grant*, and *Dr. Joyce Brothers*, and the advent of the daytime television talkshow with the appearance of *Donahue* in 1967. In Munson's view, these sixties talkshows put a premium on political "loud talk," emotive "shrink talk," and social "gut issues talk," and these were formats keyed to what "the 1960s were all about[:]... political polarization, 'do-it-yourself' participation, the casting aside of

inhibition and authority, the emphasis on feelings, subjectivity, and personal style." But what also accounts for the talkshow's burgeoning at this time is, Munson insists, manipulative corporate interests that "successfully commodified this disruption, turning controversy, politics, and 'shocking' alternatives into consumables."

In the "talkshow phenomenon" of today – a veritable heyday signaled not only by the genre's current massive proliferation and many popular successes but also by its ability to attract such elite guest "performers" as a saxophone-playing President Clinton – Munson sees a renewed surge of populist aspiration ("especially as more and more Americans consider themselves disaffected with politics-as-usual"), along with the continued presence of corporate powers able to appease and use this desire while fashioning viable advertising vehicles.

Given Munson's sense of exploitive commercial designs coexisting with the talkshow's populistic bent, one might wonder how far he can go in appreciating the genre. *All Talk* contributes to an ongoing academic debate over the worth of popular culture, so-called media culture in particular. This debate has witnessed denigrations of popular culture's ignorance of the products of Western Culture by doomsaying humanists (Allan Bloom, Neil Postman), celebrations of its supposed demotic subversiveness by postmodern theorists (John Fiske, David Marc, Andrew Ross, Frederic Jameson) and critiques of its status as a remarkably wily advertising instrument by old-school Marxists and liberal intellectuals (Todd Gitlin, Mark Miller, Ellen McCracken). In appreciating the talkshow, Munson aligns himself against the humanists, borrows synthetically from the postmodernists and the New Left traditionalists, then goes on to advance a position that is unique but altogether fatuous: Munson enthuses over what he refers to as the talkshow's "promiscuous inclusiveness" as poetically summed up in Phil Donahue's suggestion that the genre has the peculiar ability to "sandwich the Persian Gulf in between the male strippers." So Munson celebrates the talkshow because he admires in the abstract its "postmodern logic" of "rampant inclusion" – "I use 'postmodernity' as a hermeneutic construct, rather than some objective reality," he writes.

At the stylistic as well as conceptual level, *All Talk* is too theory-drunk to be of help to students interested in popular culture studies. In fact, beginning and advanced students in any area of cultural and media studies will have difficulty with sentences like, "As an imaginary, cyberspatial product promoting other products while also commodifying the spectator-consumer, the talkshow is highly plastic." Or, "Talkshows like *Geraldo* are... implicitly about the signness of the object under inquiry. There is a gnostic recognition of subjectivity and the constructedness of the object." Or, "the talkshow loosely adheres to the new set of 'rules' in the expanded field of a postmodern image economy whose productive instability... is exactly how it works." I could multiply "exemplary" sentences here. While, then, I would not recommend this book for students, mature scholars who would like to know more about the talkshow's history and nature can, I believe, find it usefully suggestive.

D.N. Luna, Johns Hopkins University

Vilma Raskin Potter, ***A Reference Guide to Afro-American Publications and Editors, 1827-1946***. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1993. 116.. Cloth, $21.95.

Since Warren Henry Brown's *Checklist of Negro Newspapers in the United States (1827-1946)* was published in 1946, it has served scholars well. The thirty-seven-page pamphlet listed nearly five hundred daily and weekly African-American newspapers, along with information such as when the newspapers began and ended publication, their editors and publishers, and institutions holding copies of them. Now Vilma Raskin Potter, professor emeritus of English at California State University, Los Angeles, has supplemented Brown's work by reorganizing his list into four indexes. Specifically, the indexes list Brown's material based on the places where the newspaper were published, the years they were published, the undated publications, and the editors who published them. In addition, Potter has created a twenty-page essay that includes discussions about Brown and his checklist, the work of other African-American press bibliographers, and early American women journalists of African descent.

In her preface, Potter argues that the indexes make possible wider use of the black press for historical research. Scholars who already have a substantial knowledge of the African-American press, however, may find Potter's work disappointing and of limited value. The biggest problem with the new guide is that it repeats the same errors that Brown made in his original work nearly a century ago. Potter chose neither to correct mistakes nor to expand Brown's original material. While Brown's oversights could be forgiven because he was a ground-breaking effort in a field that previously had been largely overlooked, it is far more difficult to excuse Potter. Because both the quantity and the quality of research on the African-American press has mushroomed in recent years, scholars will quickly identify many of the shortcomings in Potter's work. For example, Brown failed to list T. Thomas Fortune as the editor of the *New York Age*, one of the most influential black newspapers in the country at the turn of the century. Since Brown's work was published, historians have come to recognize Fortune as the dean of African-American journalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. And yet Fortune appears no where in any of Potter's four indexes.

Particularly frustrating are the holes regarding African-American women journalists. Despite devoting fully half of her essay to the contributions of African-American women, Potter fails even to mention several remarkable women whose contributions have been documented in recent years. Absent are, for example, Mary Ann Shadd Cary and her status as the first American woman of African descent to edit or publish her own newspaper (*Provincial Freeman* beginning in 1853), Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin and her founding of the first newspaper published for or by African-American women (*Women's Era* beginning in 1890), and Charlotta Bass and her forty years of successful publishing of the largest black weekly in the West Coast (*California Eagle* from 1912 to 1951).

Certainly efforts to facilitate scholarly recognition and understanding of the African-American press are commendable, but it is disappointing when a work dedicated to that purpose does not achieve its full potential.

Rodger Streitmatter, American University

Rita J. Simon and Susan H. Alexander, ***The Ambivalent Welcome: Print Media, Public Opinion and Immigration.*** Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1993. 279 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

Sometimes a book is just too much work for a reader, even a conscientious reader. Unwilling or unable to make sense of a mishmash of data, the reader sets the book aside, often missing out on some otherwise valuable information. Such is the case with *The Ambivalent Welcome: Print Media, Public Opinion, and Immigration* by Rita J. Simon and Susan H. Alexander. The book, which looks at immigration coverage from 1880 to 1990, has the potential to be a useful tool for journalism historians, but due to faulty organization, it is an unwieldy tool at best.

The first section of the book presents 1) a statistical overview of immigration ("Who Came When and from Where"), 2) major immigration legislation and political party platforms from the 1880-1990, and 3) public opinion data from national polls from 1937-1990. The second section consists of individual surveys of "the media" (fifteen magazines and *New York Times* editorials). The final chapter of this section summarizes each magazine's coverage of immigration issue. Then Appendix A profiles the magazines, and Appendix B does the same for organization opposed to immigration.

In order to put the subject matter in context, the reader has to jump back and forth from section to section. Far from user-friendly, the book leaves the reader wishing that someone has integrated all this information and created a synthesis, grounded it with more historical context, and concentrated more on cause and effect instead of just listing facts. The co-authors, a lawyer and sociologist, undoubtedly thought they were organizing the chapters for the reader's convenience. Instead, their approach resulted in a book that is loosely structured, tedious to read, and above all, repetitious. For instance, how many different ways are there to say that a magazine attacked the character and quality of the New Immigrants during the late nineteenth century? *North American Review*: Immigrants were "poor and illiterate and breeders of crime, mental illness, and other social problem... " *Saturday Evening Post*: "Unfortunately, during the last few years there has been a marked change for the worse in the character of the immigrants into the United States." *Literary Digest*: The New immigrants were "the refuse of Europe... the off-scourings of the world." If the authors had tackled the subject differently (perhaps topically or decade by decade) and tightened up the writing, the same information could have been presented in half the number of pages.

After all this is said and done, readers learn little that is new or startling. If they have studied U.S. history, they already know about the attitudes toward Eastern Europeans and Asian immigrants, debates about literacy tests, quotas, immigration legislation, etc. If they have read Theodore Peterson's *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman's *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990*, Mott's multi-volume work or even a thorough mass communication text, they already know about the magazines that were profiled, and they might question why the authors focused so heavily on what Peterson refers to as "quality magazines."

Perhaps the most frustrating aspect of this book is that it doesn't answer some important questions. Why did some of the magazines vacillate between pro- and anti-immigration stances? Why did one magazine's editorial content differ from another? How did changes over time in the magazine industry affect the magazines' editorial content vis a vis immigration? Did the media influence public opinion on immigration issues or did it merely reflect it? Some of these questions were touched on briefly, but they are basically left unexamined,

pointing out the work's lack of a clear-cut goal and the scant of amount of analysis. The authors promised "a description and interpretation of how some of the leading media in this country covered immigration to the United States," but the reader is only left with a "description."

Victoria Goff, University of Wisconsin - Green Bay

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Susan Smulyan, ***Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920-1934.*** Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

In this short, informative history, Susan Smulyan has told the fascinating account of how advertising came to rule the airwaves during radio's formative years. She details struggles over the question of how to pay for radio and how "advertising" came to be the answer. At first, radio advertising seemed anathema to programmers and government regulators, but by 1935 advertising and, more importantly, advertising agencies held control over programs and their development. This book then tells of advertising's triumph over other proposed forms of financing for this new technology, demonstrating how advertising altered radio's content and how business and government aided this change.

Smulyan's foremost argument is that commercialized broadcasting was not inevitable, but rather, it resulted from the bitter struggle over the form and content of this new technology. Homespun programming dominated early radio programs, and many organizations found voice over the airwaves. Local church groups, schools, and small businesses sponsored stations and underwrote the costs of production. However, by the mid-1920s, larger stations and the radio industry began to overcome objections to advertising over the airwaves. By the mid-1930s, the transformation was complete. No longer would the radio industry heed earlier warnings about advertising's inappropriateness for the medium. Radio advertising worked, and sponsors created fully scripted, slick productions to entice national audiences. Commercially driven radio became accepted and provided the perfect model for a communication medium which succeeded it – television.

The book is structured to move chronologically from broadcasting's beginnings in 1920 through the passage of the Communications Act of 1934, which regulates broadcasting today. The first chapter outlines the forces which eventually caused both listeners and radio set manufacturers to think of radio as national. Chapter two describes available radio technologies and the decision to wire the country with "chain broadcasting" or networks to provide national programming. The next chapter focuses on the question "Who is to pay for broadcasting?" and outlines the fact that many did not accept commercialized broadcasting as the answer. Programs themselves were shaped by decisions supporting wired networks and broadcast advertising, as detailed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 relates how commercial broadcasters countered resistance to increased commercialization of the airwaves in the early 1930s, so that alternatives seemed nonexistent or "un-American" by the implementation of the Communications Act of 1934. The last chapter concludes by reviewing these changes and their influence upon broadcasting to the present.

Smulyan's argument is forceful, and this book is a benefit to all who want to know how the media became so commercialized. I also recommend it for the pertinent questions she raises for today's evolving cable and new media

technologies. My only criticism is that the use of other primary resource materials, such as the AT&T and NBC papers and Owen Young's papers, would have strengthened her arguments about commercialized considerably. Yet, using the sources she does, Smulyan forcefully demonstrates how advertising, with the aid of both business and government, came to influence broadcast programs.

As we move toward the information superhighway, scholars and policy makers would be wise to heed the lessons Smulyan offers here about how a then new technology fit into American society and who ultimately controlled the fit.

Louise Benjamin, University of Georgia

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Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann, eds. ***Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer.*** Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992. 240 pp. Cloth, $42; paper, $15.95.

"Television has always had its eye on women," write Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann in the introduction to *Private Screenings.* In this collection, women and men also have their eyes on television, analyzing the ways in which television promotes consumption and is itself consumed, particularly by women. A collection of nine essays and an expanded version of a 1988 issue of *Camera Obscura*, this book offers close analyses of television texts and contexts, keeping considerations of race and class as well as gender at the forefront. The text makes no claims to cover the history of television, but by combining historical and contemporary analyses, the editors succeed in documenting, through very specific case histories, an outline, however sketchy, of women's relationships with television from its inception.

The first three articles provide historical analyses and may be of most interest to the readers of *American Journalism.* The first, "Installing the Television Set: Popular Discourses on Television and Domestic Space, 1948-1955," discusses the ways in which the television industry attempted to make the TV part of the home, literally another piece of furniture. To satisfy suburban housewives, who might have preferred to go outside the home for entertainment, television producers created programs that brought the world, or seemingly brought the world, to the home. Spigel makes a convincing argument that the promotion of television in its early days was an ambivalent enterprise, as no one was sure whether television would promote family unity, threaten paternal authority, or disrupt married couples' relationships. She weaves together an analysis of advertisements and contemporary magazine articles to explore the ways in which advertising became a central, but not uncontested, part of domestic space in the American home.

Another historical article, "The Meaning of Memory: Family, Class and Ethnicity in Early Network Television Programs," by George Lipsitz, provides a compelling argument about the relevance, and usefulness, of ethnic-based programs. On first thought, programs based on the lives of the working-class seem incongruous with television's necessity to promote consumerism. Essentially, Lipsitz argues, urban, ethnic, working-class comedies of the 1950s provided a transition between the "consumer present" of the 1950s and the "collective social memory" of the 1930s and 1940. Reluctant consumers, both

Depression-raised television viewers and their counterparts on shows such as *The Honeymooners* or *The Goldbergs* had to learn new methods of consumption, new ways of life. By watching the foibles of the television characters, home viewers could avoid certain faux pas themselves. Like other authors in this collection, Lipsitz is careful to note distinctions between race and ethnicity on early television. While the Jews on *The Goldbergs* and the Irish-Americans on *The Honeymooners*, for example, were sympathetic characters, the African-Americans, especially African-American men on *Amos 'n Andy*, were degenerate, even criminal.

After the historical articles, a series of three articles describe the ways in which television adopted and adapted the feminist and civil rights movements in popular programming. *Julia, Cagney and Lacey*, and *Kate and Allie* receive close analyses, as the authors examine network motivations in programming, female audience response, and the real or unreal connections between the programs and the movements they personified. Two articles follow which analyze the significance of contemporary television melodrama, and a final essay provides listings of archival holdings of television programs from 1946-1970. A diverse but rich collection, *Private Screenings* represents the best of recent media analysis: close attention to individual programs, attention to audience response as well as network intent, and truly inclusive feminist analysis.

Jennifer Scanlon, SUNY Plattsburgh

•

Mary Louise Lea Tidwell, *Luke Lea of Tennessee*. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993. 330 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

The name of Luke Lea is not synonymous with Hearst, Pulitzer, Gannett or other media legends – but it could have been.

A member of a prominent Nashville family, Lea established the Nashville *Tennessean* in 1907, and later added other newspapers, hoping to form a newspaper chain. Along the way, Lea became involved in politics, real estate development, and banking. In 1911, at age 32, Lea was elected by the legislature to the U.S. Senate (the youngest senator since Henry Clay) where he supported progressive legislation, then served with distinction in World War I. After a stunning reelection defeat in the state's first popular senatorial election in 1916, Lea chose to exercise his political power from behind the scenes.

Lea's banking activities ultimately destroyed his business empire. In 1934, Lea was convicted in North Carolina of banking law violations, and sentenced to 6-10 years in prison. Appeals to the North Carolina Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court were rejected. Lea was paroled in 1936 after serving almost two years, and granted a full pardon in 1937. But it was too late for Lea to rebuild his business empire. Owing more than $1 million, Lea could have declared bankruptcy, but he refused, saying repayment of the debts was a moral obligation. He died in 1945 at the age of 66.

The life and times of Lea are chronicled in *Luke Lea of Tennessee* by his daughter, Mary Louise Lea Tidwell. Based on interviews, newspaper articles, periodicals, public records, and the reams of Lea's personal letters and documents, the book is an insightful family portrait of Lea's hopes and dreams and rise and fall from power. Although one might dismiss the book as primarily

a public relations effort, and readers may differ with some of Tidwell's interpretations of events, the book is well-written, well-researched and zeroes in on some of Lea's personal and business failings. For example, Lea was unable to recognize faults in anyone he regarded as a friend. He resented having his judgment questioned and seldom took advice. The more properties he acquired, the more complicated his financial affairs became. For Lea, money was simply a means by which to acquire more property, more stock, and more newspapers.

Luke Lea of Tennessee is another look at a controversial and complex individual who reigned as a political boss during many of Tennessee's most turbulent years.

Alex Nagy, Middle Tennessee State University

•

Douglas Wixson, ***Worker-Writer in America: Jack Conroy and the Tradition of Midwestern Literary Radicalism, 1898-1900***. Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994. 678 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

Margaret C. Jones, ***Heretics & Hellraisers: Women Contributors to* The Masses, *1911-1917***. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993, 227 pp. Paper, $12.95.

These two excellent works illuminate the rich tradition of alternative press history in the United States. Douglas Wixson's is an exhaustive, critical-biographical study of Jack Conroy (1898-1990), a fascinating and significant figure in early twentieth-century literary radicalism. The son of an immigrant Irish coal miner, Conroy was born in a mining camp in missouri. He apprenticed in a railroad shop at the age of 13 and later labored in mines, mills, and auto factories. He wrote *The Disinherited*, an important proletarian novel of the 1930s.

As editor of the *The Anvil* he helped launch the careers of Meridel LeSueur, Richard Wright, and Nelson Algren. Like them, Wixson writes, Conroy "was part of a losse-knit group of young midwestern literary radicals... [who]... in the late 1920s... began to express their dissatisfaction with the dominant culture and the lopsided affluence that had left millions, like themselves, exiles in their native land."

Although these midwesterners were drawn to the eastern intellectual radicalism of Mike Gold, magazines like the *New Masses*, and the Communist Party of America's cultural programs, they maintained their independence. Wixson demonstrates that their roots were nurtured by "the independent Socialist-Populist-anarchist traditions of Eugene Debs, Julius Wayland's *Appeal to Reason*, and the Non-Partisan League."

Holding down day jobs as farmers, factory workers, and millhands, these midwestern radicals wrote at night, trying "to keep alive a grassroots literary and cultural movement, grouped around editors like Conroy who demonstrated that cheap printing, wide distribution, social content, and popular readership were the ingredients of a democratic culture." Neither the establishment press nor the Communist Party's "cultural apparatus" nurtured these writers, Wixson maintains. Indeed, "they were actively undermined by elements within the left's cultural movement, a fact that raises questions about the left's position on working-class culture as the 1930s wore on."

In an engrossing narrative, Wixson explores some of these questions, breaking new ground. He offers not only the first in-depth biography of Conroy but also covers aspects of the lives of several other midwestern radical writers as he charts the rise and demise of the worker-writer tradition during the first three decades of this century. As Conroy's literary executor, Wixson had access to innumerable letters and manuscripts; he also conducted many interviews with Conroy and his associates. The list of other archives he consulted, from the University of Michigan's Labadie Collection to the Library of Congress, is impressive. The result is a thoroughly researched account, gracefully written, and appropriately critical. Anticipating the inevitable charge that his friendship with Conroy might lessen the credibility of this work, Wixson asks in his introduction, "... how could anyone ever write about Conroy *without* knowing him, since researchers like myself are products of our own, usually middle-class culture and educations. Even if we grow up in working-class families and environments, we are taught to write and think in a manner that denies this background."

Worker-Writer in America is highly recommended for its detailed discussions of the origins and development of the worker-writer tradition, the differences between midwestern and East Coast literary radicals, and the related importance of alternative magazines such as *The Anvil, The Masses*, and *The Left.*

Margaret Jones' *Heretics and Hellraisers* is a superb addition to the literature on *The Masses,* the distinctive literary and cultural magazine of the early twentieth century. In the preface, Jones recalls her first encounter with *The Masses.* Attracted by the magazine's "wit, its irreverence, its committed and intelligent treatment of the social issues," she "enjoyed the art of Cornelia Barns equally with that of Art Young, Adriana Spadoni's fiction alongside of John Reed's, Helen Marot's articles on labor issues as much as the essays of Floyd Dell, without any sense that I was paying disproportionate attention to merely 'minor' – which is to say, female – contributors."

Heretics and Hellraisers is her attempt to devote to the women of *The Masses* the attention devoted thus far only to their male colleagues. In a well-researched and engaging narrative, Jones discusses the work and subsequent careers of such frequent *Masses* contributors as Helen Hull, Mary Heaton Vorse, Dorothy Day, Elsie Clews Parsons, Elizabeth Waddell, Alice Beach Winter, Helen Marot, Mabel Dodge, Adriana Spadoni, Louise Bryant, Jean Starr Untermeyer, and Inez Haynes Irwin. Jones examines her subjects against a background of feminist history, linking past ideas and ideals with present-day ones. She offers abundant detail on these contributors' perspectives on such issues as the labor movement, ethnicity, woman suffrage, pacifism, patriarchy, and birth control.

Heretics and Hellraisers is a groundbreaking study, well written and attractively illustrated with examples of the writings and visual art of *The Masses*' women contributors. A very useful appendix includes biographical and bibliographical information.

Nancy Roberts, University of Minnesota

•

Barbie Zelizer, ***Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of the Collective Memory.*** Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 299 pp. Paper, $14.95.

Among defining events of twentieth century American history, the assassination of John F. Kennedy retains a particular hold on the nation's self-image. The ongoing cultural reinterpretation of the assassination, one particularly evident this year, can be seen as a lens through which the nation defines and redefines itself. Barbie Zelizer's book, *Covering the Body*, examines the stakes involved in constructing the meaning of the assassination, in particular the struggle for its interpretation between journalists, historians, and, more recently, filmmakers.

Zelizer's book is at its best in establishing how journalists have attempted to construct themselves as the primary interpreters of the assassination. It is through their ability to locate themselves at and within the event as both participants and official observers, that journalists have told and retold the assassination story. In fact, Zelizer points out, the event was crucial to the careers of several now famous reporters: among them Tom Wicker, whose coverage for the *New York Times* has been heavily mythologized, and Dan Rather, whose career often appears to have been established by his "cool-head performance" in Dallas. In addition, collective memory of the assassination is inextricably tied to its journalistic highlights: the moment when Walter Cronkite wiped his eyes on camera, the continuous television coverage of the mourning process. Thus journalists have succeeded, some by design more than others, in making themselves essential elements of this history.

The media plays a primary role in the shaping of collective memory and the production of historical narrative. Zelizer points out that the policing of interpretation of the assassination story by journalists has been extraordinary, most recently evidenced by their often hysterical attacks on Oliver Stone's film *JFK*. However, her argument falters a bit when she takes on the tensions between journalism and history. Certainly, if nothing else, the various cultural apparatuses that have attempted to interpret the Kennedy assassination have shown that history is no longer constructed by "historians" and that collective memory is not something that only takes place within institutional narratives. While *Covering the Body* provides ample evidence of the politics of collective remembrance, the book has a certain hesitancy to fully define elements of its central argument – what precisely are the stakes in producing history, how is history distinguished from collective memory, and how exactly cultural authority is established. Hence, Zelizer's central tenet that journalistic authority emanates from context and depends on collective memory and narrative seems

to be readily too obvious given her topic. This is compounded by what is often a rather plodding style and an overall structure which seems a bit dry and overly sociological.

These flaws are all more unfortunate precisely because of the wealth of material Zelizer has retrieved and the depth of the questions which she is asking. The tangled web of memory and the stakes in producing the "truth" of the Kennedy assassination – certainly one that will always be elusive – are clearly evident in this book. In fact, it points precisely to the reasons why definitions of historical knowledge need to be rethought: when cinematic docudramas carry more weight in popular memory than the work of traditional historians, when the vast majority of the American public don't believe the official story, when the fantasy of conspiracy theory competes with notions of journalistic truth. One wishes that Zelizer had pushed further into this incident. Nevertheless, *Covering the Body* should be recommended for posing absolutely critical questions about how journalism establishes cultural authority and about the relationship of the media to the politics of cultural remembrance.

Marita Sturken, University of California, San Diego

(Continued from inside front cover)

Anyone who wishes to review books for *American Journalism* or propose a book for review should contact Professor Thomas Connery, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn. 55105.

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- The Jazz Rage: Carter G. Woodson's Culture War in the African-American Press

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SUBMISSIONS. All articles, research notes, and correspondence should be sent to Professor Wallace B. Eberhard, Editor, College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia, Athens 30602-3018. Telephone: (706) 542-5033. FAX: (706) 542-4785. Authors should send four copies of manuscripts submitted for publication as articles. *American Journalism* follows the style requirements of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th ed. The maximum length for most manuscripts is twenty-five pages, not including tables and footnotes.

All submissions are blind refereed by three readers and the review process typically takes about three months. Manuscripts will be returned only if the author includes a self-addressed stamped envelope.

Research notes are typically three- to six-page manuscripts, written without formal documentation. Such notes, which are not blind refereed, may include reports of research in progress, discussion of methodology, annotations on new archival sources, commentaries on issues in journalism history, suggestions for future research, or response to material previously published in *American Journalism*. Authors who wish to contribute research notes are invited to query the editor.

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From the Editor's Desk...

THE UPSIDE OF BEING AN EDITOR FAR outweighs the downside. The satisfied calm that settles around the office of *AJ* and the persona of the editor when the journal is delivered to the printer returns him to the days when he published a crossroads weekly in Michigan, a stone's throw from the great dunes along with western coast of that lake state. In both instances, there is the fatalistic view of the finished product. There isn't much more that can be done, given the constraints (do weekly editors use that word?) of the task. The clock goes 'round and you try to stay just ahead of its steady rush toward a deadline. Events of the week (in the case of the newspaper) dictate much of the content; the contributions of the academicians (in the case of *AJ*) foreshadow what the reader will be offered. The editor who doesn't grasp a few feelgood moments before tackling the next issue will be bound for the psychiatrist's couch, we fear. There are defensible reasons for this self indulgence. The assigned piece of work is done, and editors have a constitutional right of prideful attachment to the finished product. To not excerise this prerogative is to miss something that is due those who wear the title of editor. And, editors know in advance that the newspaper or journal or whatever is going to be somewhat short of editorial perfection when it is examined, hot off the press. There will be the embarrassing typo here or style miscue there, or admitting that the lead article would have been helped by a bit more rewriting or asking more of the author. This inevitible ego leveling becomes part of the editor's rhythm, if you will, and isn't really downside stuff.

What is *really* downside is conveying bad news to an author. It is, one imagines, like the company commander writing a letter to the next of kin: "It is my painful duty to tell you that your son is missing in action..." How do you gracefully break the news to scholars that three bonehead reviewers couldn't find the academic greatness in their cerebral offspring, that it is a casualty on the battlefields of scholarship? There is no easy way. You just have to let 'em have it, right between the thesis statement and the footnotes. What gets an editor off the hook to some extent is to include copies of the evaluations. We are saving the more pungent comments for a future bestseller. Such as: "Despite the excellent critical analysis and obvious love of the author for (xxx) this ... is a modest piece of history, in my opinion." Or, "Why this paper needed to be written

is scarcely mentioned." And, perhaps the unkindest cut of all, "It reads like the first couple chapters of a dissertation."

The skewering quotes above are real, lifted from critiques penned on behalf of *AJ*, and weren't really intended to poke fun at contributors. Critics who are not faithful to their task are hacks or worse. What softens this part of an editorship is the genuine anxiety which underlies the criticism and often does not make it into the formal review. We have frequent telephone conversations across the country with reviewers struggling with their task: How do I tell the author that I think this isn't good work without destroying his or her morale and commitment to honest scholarship? There is no easy way, any more than there is certainty in the peer review system by which academe lives and dies. The upside to this downside is that critics care and know that even their expert opinion, for all its honesty, isn't infallible.

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HAPPY ENDING: The American Society of Newspaper Editors has, after all, stayed the execution of the venerable annual *Proceedings* of the Society. Knight-Ridder came to the rescue with funding. Many individuals and organizations (our own included) registered strong sentiments to keep the printed record of ASNE meetings alive...***AJ* IS INDEXED** or listed in several of the appropriate finding aids in our field, including those listed on the inside back cover. We are open to placing our contents in as many useful places as possible, and if you have suggestions, please forward them to the editor...

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The Professional Vision: Conflicts over Journalism Education, 1900-1955

By Brad Asher

Journalism schools emerged as part of a broader professionalization movement within journalism. They sought, like medical schools, to restrict entry to the occupation only to those with a qualifying professional degree. They never entirely succeeded because they never gained full acceptance for their professional vision of journalism education.

I. Introduction

Journalism historians have not paid sufficient attention to journalism education. In the dominant interpretation, education stands as simply another signpost on the road to a more responsible and more independent press.[1] The revisionist tendencies that have enlivened journalism history in the past fifteen years have addressed journalism education only indirectly in their critical examinations of the notions of objectivity, sensationalism, and social responsibility.[2]

The history of journalism education, however, offers significant insights into current questions about the nature of journalism. Is journalism a trade or a profession? Should the training of young journalists be undertaken by

1. See, for example, Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years, 1690-1940* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), 488-489, 604-605, 727-728; Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretative History of Journalism* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 735-740. For perspectives on the limits of this approach to journalism history, see James W. Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1 (1974): 3-5, 27; Joseph P. McKerns, "The Limits of Progressive Journalism History," *Journalism History* 4 (1977): 88-92.

2. Of particular note are Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

those with practical experience or by those with academic training? These questions and others were hotly debated among journalism educators in the years 1900-1955. A small group of self-proclaimed "elite" schools tried to imitate the success of law and medical schools in restricting entry into the occupation to those who had received proper training in a professional school. (For a list of these schools, see Appendix on last page of this article.) This professional vision was challenged by a rival group of schools, which the elite schools disparagingly dubbed "trade schools." One of the purposes of this article is to analyze the conflicts between these rival visions of journalism education, and to compare them with general developments in the history of the profession.

The history of journalism education, however, cannot be understood apart from the major trends of journalism history. The rise of journalism school must be placed within the context of a broader professionalizing movement within journalism. This article also will explain this formative era of journalism education, from 1900 to about 1925.

II. The Formative Period

Education for journalists was not an entirely new idea at the end of the nineteenth century.[3] But of the scattering of courses established prior to 1900, few proved enduring. The big boost for separate institutions, schools, or departments providing instruction for journalists came in 1903, when Joseph Pulitzer announced a $2 million bequest to Columbia University to establish a school of journalism. Quarrels between Pulitzer and Columbia over the exact institutional arrangements, however, prevented the school's opening until 1912, after Pulitzer's death. The time lapse allowed the University of Missouri to claim the honor of establishing the first separate school of journalism, which opened its doors in 1908.[4]

By 1925, most of the leading journalism programs had been established, either as separate schools or as separate programs within other schools. This core group of thirty-two schools dominated the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ), founded in 1917.[5] This organization was the strongest advocate for a system of elite professional schools that would strictly regulate entry into journalism.

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3. In 1914, *The Independent* reprinted a letter to the editor dated 1864 recommending the establishment of a school for newspaper editors. *Independent*, 5 June 1914, 480-481.

4. Albert Alton Sutton, *Education for Journalism in the United States from Its Beginning to 1940* (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1945), 7-13; DeForest O'Dell, *The History of Journalism Education in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1935), 1-96; Don Carlos Seitz, "Episodes in the School's Prehistory – Landmarks in the Lengthy Struggle," in Heinz-Dietrich Fischer and Christopher Trump, *Education in Journalism: The 75th Anniversary of Joseph Pulitzer's Ideas at Columbia University (1904-1979)* (Bochum, West Germany: Studienverlag Brockmeyer, 1980), 63-92.

5. Edwin Emery and Joseph McKerns, "AEJMC: 75 Years in the Making: A History of Organizing for Journalism and Mass Communications Education in the United States," *Journalism Monographs* 104 (1987): 1; Sutton, *Education for Journalism*, 26-27, 36-38.

A variety of factors explains the emergence of journalism schools during this period. Of major importance is the most basic reason of all: money. Huge fortunes could be amassed through journalism, so funds were available for the establishment of journalism schools.[6] People made sizable fortunes in journalism prior to this period, of course, but they did not use those funds to endow journalism schools. To understand why publishers used their money to establish schools of journalism, the best place to start is the Progressive critique of the press that took shape between 1900 and World War I, reappearing in slightly altered form after the war.[7]

This critique rested on the charge that the press served class interests at the expense of the republic. Throughout the period, this same theme would be expressed in a variety of different ways. The strongest variant was that the press was in the pocket of the moneyed interests of society. Because publishing had become a rich man's game, publishers shared the values of the upper classes and shaped the content of their papers accordingly. In addition, the press was held hostage by big business because of newspaper dependence on advertising revenues. One of the most influential of such criticisms was Upton Sinclair's *The Brass Check.* This polemic on the prostitution of the press went through six printings in its first year for a total of more than a hundred thousand copies.[8]

After World War I, this strain of criticism took a further turn. Now the press was less a willing accomplice in propping up the interests of the moneyed class and more a manipulable instrument. The war had demonstrated the power of press agents and propaganda, and business and government leaders increasingly filtered relations with the press through their public relations men. Shut out from their sources, newspapers simply reprinted the biased information provided by press agents.[9]

Reformist elements within the press, along with a nascent group of journalism educators, agreed with the critics' major premise: A more public-spirited press was vital to a healthy democracy. "The present crisis of western

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6. In addition to Pulitzer's bequest, a partial list would include the Tribune Company's continuing financial support of Northwestern's Medill School, *Minneapolis Tribune* publisher William Murphy's $350,000 bequest to the University of Minnesota, and Ward Neff's donation to the University of Missouri for a separate journalism building. See Sara Lockwood Williams, *Twenty Years of Education for Journalism* (Columbia, Mo.: E.W. Stephens Publishing, 1929), 36; William R. Lindley, *Approaches of Selected American Universities to the Education of Journalists* (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1970), 28; H.F. Harrington memorandum, 7 February 1931, Medill School of Journalism Papers (MSJP), Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History"; Richard Kendrick, "An Outline History of the Medill School of Journalism from 1930-34" (unpublished term paper, 1939), MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

7. The Progressive period is generally seen to be one of the three major periods of press criticism in this country. The other two periods are the 1830s and the 1960s. See Schudson, *Discovering the News*; Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, 187.

8. Upton Sinclair, *The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism*, (Pasadena, Calif.: By the author, 1920); *Problems of Journalism*, 1924 Proceedings, American Society of Newspaper Editors, 115.

9. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 136-141. For a prominent educator's critique of the system of promotion men, see Eric W. Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics for Journalists," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 101 (1922): 174.

democracy," Walter Lippmann wrote in 1920, "is a crisis in journalism."[10] Public opinion needed to be made truly public, not representative of a class interest. Such an improvement in public opinion, given the belief in the direct and instrumental effect of the press, could be obtained almost automatically by improving newspapers.[11]

Journalism educators and press reformers advocated a specific way to achieve this improvement: professionalization. To improve journalism required an improved breed of journalist, one that adhered to a professional standard of disinterested public service. This improved journalist would require special training in the ethics and methods of professional journalism – a task which was to be the privileged responsibility of the journalism schools. This line of thought is laid out clearly in the statement of "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism" adopted by the AASDJ at its 1924 annual meeting.

> Because of the importance of newspapers and periodicals to society and government, adequate preparation is as necessary for all persons who desire to engage in journalism as it is for those who intend to practice law or medicine. No other profession has a more vital relation to the welfare of society and to the success of democratic government than has journalism.[12]

The professionally trained journalist, in the educators' view, would provide not only an accurate factual account of the news, but would put events in context, providing readers with a true understanding of society. Journalism would thus keep its distance from both the masses and the interests; the truth would stand apart from any social class. Even after World War I, when the success of propaganda and public relations rendered the notion of an independent and objectively verifiable truth less tenable, journalists embraced an interpretive style of reporting that conveyed, if not the truth, at least an analysis that was not beholden to any particular social group.[13]

Journalism, in the words of Eric Allen, dean of the University of Oregon's School of Journalism, should be "applied social science." The University of Wisconsin's Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, one of the most influential figures in the early history of journalism education, argued similarly that the purpose of journalism courses was to teach students how to "think straight" and

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10. Cited in Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, 191.
11. See, for example, Northwestern University President Walter Dill Scott's conception of the mission of the Medill School of Journalism in an undated press release and Scott's speech at the dedication of Medill School, 8 February 1921, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.
12. "Principles and Standards of Education for Journalism," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 30.
13. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, 134-159; Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics," 174.

"how to apply what they have learned to understanding and interpreting the day's news."[14]

These improved journalists would not shun crime news – the bane of those critics who derided the sensational press – but they would put it in proper context. In a 1925 address, educator Nelson Crawford said the function of the press regarding sensational material

> should be not simply to tell of anti-social acts, and perhaps adopt the emotional reactions of the mob concerning them, but to analyze them, to point out their genesis and their significance. . . . The press at present deals largely with phenomena, which are likely to appear isolated and to be unintelligible without an understanding of their causes. [15]

Schools of journalism, Crawford advised, should provide reporters with such analytical ability.[16]

Professional education was just one prong of the response of the press to the Progressive critique. Professional organizations – most notably, the American Society of Newspaper Editors – also flowered during this period, as part of an effort to enforce collegial discipline. State press associations, journalism schools, and other press organizations promulgated a variety of ethics codes to define and regulate professional behavior.[17] According to communications historian Dan Schiller, one important effect of the rhetoric of professionalism was to shift responsibility to the individual journalist, deflecting those critics who charged that the problem with journalism was systemic and structural.[18]

The role of the schools in this overall professionalization movement was to restrict access to the occupation to those who were properly trained. When the American Society of Newspaper Editors formally endorsed the creation of professional schools in 1924, the educators lauded the decision in the pages of *Journalism Bulletin*. "Nine-tenths of the battle for better journalism is won when the supply of reporters and editors is properly controlled and action of the kind taken is the biggest step toward proper attention to the supply because it recognizes one source and that source can impose high standards."[19]

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14. Eric W. Allen, "Journalism as Applied Social Science," *Journalism Bulletin* 4 (1927): 2; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, "What Schools of Journalism Are Trying to Do," *Journalism Quarterly* 8 (1931): 39.

15. Nelson Antrim Crawford, "Psychological Leadership for Journalism," *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (1926): 4-5. Another example is provided by the Medill School's "newspaper of the future," a student exhibit in 1933. Crime news was relegated to the inside pages and the stories focused on the interpretation of the day's events. Don Hopkins Jr., "A Short History of the Medill School of Journalism – 1920-1934" (unpublished term paper, 1941?). MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

16. Crawford, ibid.

17. Mott, *American Journalism*, 605; S. Gershanek and M.N. Ask, eds., *Who's Who in Journalism* (New York: Journalism Publishing Co., 1925), 332-338.

18. Schiller, *Objectivity and the News*, 194-195.

19. "Progress," *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (1925): 19. See also R. Justin Miller, "The Professional Spirit," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 7.

III. The Schools' Strategy

Journalism educators thus sought to make the journalism degree the required credential for employment, ensuring that only properly trained persons entered the field. Restricting access, however, became almost impossible with the rapid expansion of both journalism employment and the number of journalism schools from the 1920s onward. Overlapping with but largely following in the wake of the elite schools, other journalism schools and departments soon began appearing all over the country. By 1940, Albert Sutton counted 542 colleges and universities offering instruction in journalism, although only 103 of these offered majors or degrees in journalism.[20] According to the census, that twenty-year period witnessed a tremendous expansion in the "editors and reporters" category, which reached 58,253 in 1940, up from 34,197 in 1920.[21]

The schools affiliated with the AASDJ adopted a two-part strategy to combat these trends. First, they set themselves apart from the other schools by promoting a vision of "professional" journalism education that differed from the "trade school" orientation of the other schools. Second, they tried to bring practitioners in on their side by establishing an accrediting program that legitimated their type of professional education.

The first part of the elite schools' strategy depended on redefining the nature of the journalism curriculum. Typically, both the trade schools and the professional schools divided the curriculum into two parts: background courses taken in the university's social science departments and journalism courses taken in the journalism school. From Pulitzer onward, journalism educators had argued that the new breed of journalist required a broad liberal arts education. Since professional journalism emphasized the context of news, the curriculum of journalism schools would obviously have to include a heavy dose of the social sciences. The elite schools advocated a curriculum that was seventy-five percent social science courses and twenty-five percent journalism courses.[22]

It was over the nature of that twenty-five percent that the real debate in journalism education took place. The elite schools sought to infuse their journalism courses with the social sciences, to make them courses in "applied social science," to use Eric Allen's term. "Well-organized" reporting and editing courses, Bleyer wrote in 1931, provided the student an opportunity to apply knowledge gained in background courses.

> Even a clever office-boy with no more than a common school education may learn how to get news and how to write a passable news story. The course in reporting in a school of journalism is devoted largely to an intensive study of local news and its significance. . . . Thus it serves to correlate the

20. Sutton, *Education for Journalism*, 18-21.
21. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, vol. 3, pt. 1, *The Labor Force* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943), 75. The 1920 figure is cited in Lindley, *Approaches*, 10. He gives an even higher figure for 1940.
22. Sutton, *Education for Journalism*, 55; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 5; Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," *North American Review* 178 (1904): 663-678.

> work of news gathering and news writing with what students have learned in psychology, economics, and similar subjects.[23]

The editorial writing course, Bleyer continued, was less a writing course and more a course in the scientific analysis of current events.[24]

It is difficult to underestimate Bleyer's importance in promoting this view of journalism education. Bleyer was chairman of the AASDJ's Council on Education for Journalism for the first twelve years of its existence, 1923-34, and played a leading role in formulating the statement of "Standards and Principles." As part of his devotion to academically rigorous journalistic training, he also pushed hard for journalism schools to become more research-oriented. Perhaps most importantly, Bleyer's program at Wisconsin graduated a number of influential journalism educators who carried the vision of a scientific journalistic discipline to other schools.[25]

The elite schools set apart their professional approach to journalism education from the trade-school orientation of many other schools. This newer crop of journalism schools tended to be found on the campuses of lesser-known state universities. The elite schools accused them of teaching techniques without understanding. Students were dispatched to cover stories, their articles were edited and criticized by faculty who were usually journalists themselves, and the students were sent out to cover another story. The students' background knowledge withered and became useless because the students did not apply it to daily practice. In the AASDJ's view, this type of training was wholly inadequate for the professional journalist. Thus the AASDJ's "Standards and Principles" inveighed against courses "concerned merely with developing proficiency in journalistic technique. The aims and methods of instruction should not be those of a trade school but should be of the same standard as those of other professional schools."[26]

It is difficult to know how much this rhetoric actually changed teaching practices in the classroom. It is ironic, given the AASDJ's haughtiness, that most of the elite schools started with an orientation similar to the trade schools they now attacked.[27] Even as the elite schools criticized an excessive focus on "techniques," they retained the practical trappings of city room, student newspaper, and enforced deadline. The biggest difference between "practical" and "professional" training boiled down to a question of style. Professional training taught students to integrate insights from the social sciences into their news stories, relating the facts of the particular news event to a broader context. Practical training focused more on the accurate gathering and relating of facts.

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23. Bleyer, "What the Schools Are Trying to Do," 39-40.
24. Ibid.
25. The list of former Bleyer students who later became deans or directors of journalism schools includes, among others, Kenneth Olson of Northwestern, E. Marion Johnson and Ralph Casey of Minnesota, Lawrence W. Murphy of Illinois, and Chilton Bush of Stanford. Lindley, *Approaches*, 29-97; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 5, 18-19.
26. "Principles and Standards," 32. See also L.N. Flint, "Comparing Notes on Courses," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 54.
27. Henry Farrand Griffin, "Copy!" *The Outlook*, 22 February 1913, 428; Lindley, *Approaches*, 94.

In the AASDJ's view, the trade schools gave too much emphasis to isolated events and too little emphasis to context. The improvement of journalism, according to the AASDJ, required more than old journalists teaching young students the state of current practice; the point was to move beyond current practice. The elite schools thus began to call for less reliance on practicing journalists as faculty and for more attention to academic credentials. Recruiting teachers on the basis of experience alone, one writer concluded, "will never produce 'the great American journalist.' "[28]

The case of Northwestern's Medill School provides an interesting example of the tensions involved in the evolution from practical to professional. Dean Kenneth Olson was the architect of the transformation. Looking back on his sixteen years at the helm in 1953, he wrote with satisfaction to Northwestern's Dean of Faculties that he had broken the curriculum away from "an entirely technical education." Under Olson, Medill's program combined broad background in the social sciences with rigorous professional training in journalism courses that were "not just technique courses, but courses in applied social science."[29]

Olson, however, was saddled with an immensely popular downtown division that offered almost purely technical courses. The downtown division had been the heart of Medill's early existence, offering evening classes to working and aspiring journalists. When Olson took over as Dean, downtown enrollments were four times greater than those on the Evanston campus, but well over half of the students were only high school graduates. It was irresponsible to "open wide the doors" to journalism education, Olson said, just as it was irresponsible for medical and law schools to permit unqualified students to take their courses. "Our main show must be out here on the Evanston campus building a strong professional school," Olson said.[30]

Olson could not eliminate the school outright, because it yielded about a twenty thousand dollar annual profit, but he abolished the certificate in journalism which had been awarded to students who successfully completed the prescribed regimen of technical courses. The certificate was indistinguishable from a diploma, Olson said, and the school should not be supplying newspapers with "men and women who had only the flimsy educational background represented by this diploma program." He also downgraded the status of the Chicago campus to an audit extension division.[31]

The ultimate expression of the professional curriculum came in the 1930s, with the movement to transform journalism schools into graduate-level professional schools. The elite schools had long held it as an ideal to require all entering students to hold bachelor's degrees. A number of schools had previously offered master's degrees, but these were mainly aimed at aspiring journalism

28. P.I. Reed, "The Ph.D. Calibre," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 44. See also Frank Scott, "Significance of the Ph.D.," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 88; Leslie Higginbotham, "Practice vs. Ph.D.," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 10-12.

29. Olson to Dean of Faculties Payson Wild, 10 November 1953, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 5, "Correspondence," Northwestern University Archives.

30. "Statement of the Needs of the Medill School of Journalism," 1939, MSJP, no box number, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers," Northwestern University Archives.

31. Ibid.

teachers. The goal now was to make the master's the terminal professional degree, requiring a year or two of professional training.[32]

The Pulitzer School at Columbia restricted its year-long program in journalism to baccalaureate holders in 1935. Northwestern followed in 1937, when it eliminated its bachelor's degree in journalism, and began to offer only the master's. Although Medill's Dean Olson would look back on the creation of the "five-year program" as his preeminent contribution to the Medill curriculum, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it failed in most respects. There were only two years in which no bachelor's degrees in journalism were awarded – 1940 and 1941. In 1942, Olson restored the bachelor's degree owing to the war emergency, but advised that the five-year plan would be "put into full effect again as soon as the war is over." However, the bachelor's degree was not eliminated after the war. Indeed, it grew steadily, from one awarded in 1942 to eighty in 1948. Throughout the world of journalism education, in fact, the bachelor's has remained the standard journalism degree.[33]

The downplaying of the technical side of journalism courses by the elite schools put the onus of practical training back on the newspapers themselves. In a review of the schools' achievements in 1925, an article in the *Bulletin* pointed out that most schools had realized that "the mere mechanics of newspaper work can best be taught in the shop." Stanford's journalism school director proclaimed that "it is the job of the newspaper itself to train its craftsmen."[34]

The battle between professional schools and trade schools involved more than mere matters of style; power and prestige were also at stake. While the elite schools worked to distance their curriculum from that of the trade schools, they sought simultaneously to establish the hegemony of their professional vision through control of journalism school accreditation. The elite schools noted with approval the successful efforts of the medical profession in stemming the proliferation of medical schools, and they waged a similar battle to limit the number of schools that offered journalism degrees.[35]

In its early days, the AASDJ had simply appointed itself the accrediting authority for journalism education. Membership in the Association was by invitation only, and invitation was contingent on adherence to AASDJ standards for journalism education. This self-assumed accrediting function was soon

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32. "Toward Higher Standards," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 19; Eric Allen, "Presidential Address: Medical Schools, Law Schools, and Schools of Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 8 (1931): 196-203.

33. Emery, *The Press and America*, 738; "Summary of Proposed Plan for Reorganization of Medill School of Journalism," 1937; "Proposed Program for Restoration of Bachelor's Degree in Journalism," undated, MSJP, no box number, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers"; Olson to Dean of Faculties Payson Wild, 10 November 1953, MSJP, Box Number 16, Folder 5, "Correspondence," Northwestern University Archives.

34. Joseph Myers, "What Have the Schools Done?" *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (1925), 1; Lindley, *Approaches*, 88. See also Thomas Stritch, "A New Program of Studies for a Department," *Journalism Quarterly* 28 (1951): 83.

35. "Too Many Schools?" *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 61; George Turnbull, "The Comparative Size of the Journalism Field," *Journalism Quarterly* 8 (1931): 224-234; "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," *Journalism Quarterly* 22 (1945): 40; Allen, "Presidential Address," 198; "Building Schools of Medicine," *Journalism Bulletin* 1 (1924): 99-102; "Convention Proceedings, American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 24 (1947): 79.

formally recognized by various higher education organizations, and the AASDJ members took to referring to themselves as "Class A" schools of journalism.[36] The *Bulletin* lauded these efforts, urging in a 1924 editorial that "schools of limited resources and limited size" should assume the role of pre-professional schools, channeling promising students to "institutions with full Class A rating."[37]

In the 1930s, the AASDJ moved to gain greater legitimacy for its accrediting program by obtaining the participation of practitioners. In 1930, after receiving expressions of support from various professional associations, the AASDJ formed a joint council – composed of five AASDJ educators and one member each from the five main professional associations[38] – to establish a framework for accreditation. In 1945, the AASDJ relinquished its self-appointed accrediting role to this council, which vested power in a seven-member accrediting committee. Four of the seven members were to be educators from AASDJ schools.[39]

The AASDJ thus ceded its unilateral accrediting power to a more representative body, but retained its dominant voice in setting educational standards. It had also strengthened its ties with the industry, gaining greater legitimacy for itself as the exclusive arbiter of journalistic qualifications. Reflecting this new sense of legitimacy, the organization made membership automatic for all accredited schools, and in 1948 it changed its name from the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism to the Association of Accredited Schools and Departments of Journalism.[40]

Sensing that they were being squeezed out, the trade schools rebelled. In 1944, fourteen non-AASDJ schools formed a rival association: the American Society of Journalism School Administrators. The new association rallied around the banner of freedom in journalism education and presented itself as the champion of "medium-sized grassroots journalism schools." It accused the AASDJ of imposing arbitrary yardsticks for accrediting and of "restraining and humiliating" schools not affiliated with the "junta" that controlled accrediting.[41]

The AASDJ did its best to ignore the rebels and push ahead with its accreditation program.[42] In 1953, however, the National Commission on Accreditation smashed those efforts. The National Commission had been established in 1950 by twelve hundred college and university presidents, who felt they were losing control over the professional schools on campuses. The

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36. "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," 34; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 1.

37. "Too Many Schools?" 61.

38. The five professional associations were the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association, the Inland Daily Press Association, and the National Editorial Association.

39. "The AASDJ Accepts New Accrediting Policy," 39-40, 43-44; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 1, 32.

40. The 1949 convention minutes are the first to refer to the organization's new name. "Official Minutes of 1949 AATJ-AASDJ-ASJSA Convention," *Journalism Quarterly* 26 (1949): 493.

41. Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 26.

42. Norval Neil Luxon, "Journalism Accrediting at the End of Five Years," *Journalism Quarterly* 28 (1951): 483-487.

National Commission wanted to put an end to the multiplicity of independent accrediting agencies, and put accreditation on an institution-wide basis. The AASDJ, however, insisted on the primacy of its own standards for journalism education. The National Commission responded by announcing that it would work with the trade schools' association in evaluating journalism programs.[43]

This turn of events shocked the AASDJ. Its efforts to establish the legitimacy of its own accrediting standards suddenly stood on the verge of being discarded. At the 1953 gathering of journalism teachers, the trade schools and the professional schools fought out their differences. Members of the trade schools' association reiterated their hostility to bureaucracy and regimentation, and to the idea that "bigness" was proof of high quality. They called for local autonomy in evaluating journalism education, saying that students, faculty and local boards of trustees knew better "what kind of department should be maintained" than did some accrediting team sent in from the outside.[44]

The AASDJ blustered and defended its record, but in the end it was forced to compromise. In a late-night meeting with the leaders of the trade schools, AASDJ representatives agreed to allow the rival association to appoint two of the four educator members to the accrediting committee. The AASDJ thus retained the structure it had created for journalism accrediting, but forfeited its dominant voice within that structure. At the end of the 1953 meeting, the AASDJ president warned members that they must be "vigilant against attempts to water down the standards of journalism education. . . . We have gone as far as . . . can be expected . . . in co-operating on accrediting changes."[45]

Reflecting its disappointment with the power lost to the trade schools, the AASDJ no longer made membership in its own association automatic upon accreditation. Humbled, it changed its name back to the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. Members even considered raising the standards for membership to levels well above those required for accreditation, but settled on a system that called for approval of new members by a majority of existing members.[46]

The trade schools, meanwhile, luxuriated in their new legitimacy. Although they resented the continuing rhetorical attacks by the AASDJ,[47] they proudly reiterated their own vision of journalism education in the years after the 1953 compromise. They stated their commitment to faculty with professional experience, a clear slap in the face of the AASDJ, which had been emphasizing the need for teachers with advanced degrees. The convention minutes also rang with reaffirmations of the "principles of freedom of journalism education."[48]

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43. Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 27, 36.
44. "Official Minutes of the 1953 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 30 (1953): 539.
45. Ibid., 539-549; Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 28.
46. "Official Minutes of the 1954 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 31 (1954): 530; "Official Minutes of the 1955 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 33 (1956): 133-134; "Official Minutes of the 1956 Convention, Association for Education in Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 34 (1957): 155-156.
47. See, for example, Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 28.
48. "Eleventh Convention of the American Society of Journalism School Administrators," *Journalism Quarterly* 33 (1956): 134; "Thirteenth Convention of

IV. The Schools and the Industry

The history of the professions is filled with similar examples of trade schools confronting professional schools. In medicine, there was a network of for-profit medical schools; in law, there was a group of night law schools. In those cases, however, organizations within the industry itself backed the professional schools over the trade schools. With aid from state regulation, they marginalized these educational alternatives. Michael Schudson has characterized these struggles as evidence of the conflict between professionalism and the democratic ethos in American life. The trade schools represent democracy because they open up access to the occupation. In journalism, the freedom-of-choice rhetoric adopted by the trade schools reflected this democratic ethos. In journalism, however, practitioners did not close ranks behind the professional vision of education, as occurred in other professions.[49]

The elite schools' growing disparagement of courses emphasizing techniques progressively alienated many journalism practitioners. This alienation came through clearly in the 1931 issue of *Journalism Quarterly*, the successor to the *Bulletin*. Reprinting the addresses from the educators' annual convention, the journal sandwiched Bleyer's social scientific description of what newswriting courses should be between two analyses by practicing journalists of what editors wanted from the schools. Both practitioners recommended that the schools provide more practical training.[50]

This type of split between practitioners and professional schools is not surprising. Practitioners frequently criticize professional schools for teaching overly academic material with limited practical use.[51] In journalism, unlike law or medicine, however, these splits between practitioners and the professional schools empowered the growing group of trade schools.

Not all practitioners shared such attitudes. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, for example, issued a report in 1930 critical of the excessively vocational nature of the training offered in journalism schools. Similar sentiments were expressed at different times in *Editor and Publisher*.[52] In addition, the AASDJ was able to gain the support of the professional associations for its accrediting program. Clearly, there were important elements within the industry that shared the elite schools' professional vision.

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the American Society of Journalism School Administrators," *Journalism Quarterly* 35 (1958): 142.

49. Schudson, "The Flexner Report and the Reed Report," 347, 358-361; Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977): 202.

50. Harold B. Johnson, "What the Editors Expect of the Schools of Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 8 (1931): 30-32; Fred Fuller Shedd, "The Newspaper Heritage," Ibid., 52-55. See also Joseph Medill Patterson's address at the opening ceremonies of the Medill School, MSJP, Box 16, Folder 1, "Establishment and History," Northwestern University Archives.

51. Jencks and Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*, ch. 5.

52. Bleyer, "What the Schools Are Trying to Do," 43; *Problems of Journalism, 1930 Proceedings, ASNE*, 44-47. See also Joseph Medill Patterson's attack on purely technical training in a *New York Daily News* editorial in 1935, MSJP, no box number, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers," Northwestern University Archives.

Unfortunately for the AASDJ, these elements did not form a coherent professionalizing bloc within the industry. No single professional association commanded undivided respect. The American Society of Newspaper Editors, the group most sympathetic to the views of the AASDJ, was by no means representative of all the papers in the country. In addition, the AASDJ confronted a mix of news outlets that were alike only in that they were lumped together as mass media. Small town papers had different requirements than metropolitan dailies, which both differed from the country weekly, the trade journal, the magazine, and other forms of print journalism. The advent of news on radio, and later television, only added to the mixture. The dissimilarities between these media prevented the development of a coherent industry position and common professional goals that could have empowered the AASDJ to regulate entry into the occupation.

Publishers also harbored ambiguous attitudes toward professionalization. They often observed the rhetoric of professionalization, but they also had an interest in keeping editorial wages low.[53] Strict control of entrance into the occupation worked against that interest. Indeed, almost from the outset, the educators criticized publishers for not paying journalism school graduates their worth. If the value of a professional education was not recognized in a journalist's salary, the educators argued, how could the schools attract the bright students so necessary for the improvement of journalism?[54]

The general history of the professions reveals that other occupations could overcome such structural disorganization when one or more groups within the occupation successfully mobilized the resources of the state to impose licensing requirements and certification. The professionalizing elements in journalism flirted with similar ideas. Bleyer, for example, supported efforts to obtain state licensing in Wisconsin. Qualms about the First Amendment and restrictions on the freedom of the press, however, prevented any sustained campaign.[55]

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53. The publishers were quite adept at manipulating the term "professional" to serve their interests. Publishers fought the trade union tactics of the Newspaper Guild, for example, in its effort to raise wages by declaring that collective bargaining was illegitimate among "professionals." See Arthur Robb, "Shop Talk at Thirty," *Editor and Publisher*, 29 January 1944, 52.

54. See, for example, *Northwestern University Bulletin: The President's Report for 1929-30*, vol. 31, (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1930), 162; Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics," 175; Allen, "Presidential Address," 204-206; "Earnings in Journalism," *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (1925): 29-33. The ASNE also complained occasionally about the effect of low salaries on the professionalization of journalism. See *Problems of Journalism, 1924 Proceedings, ASNE*, 125.

Beginning in 1953, *Journalism Quarterly* began annual surveys of journalism school enrollments and placement, showing average starting salaries, always pointing out that the journalist earned substantially less than other professionally trained occupations.

55. M.V. Atwood, "Proposed Plan for Certifying To Capability of Persons in Journalism," *Journalism Quarterly* 8 (1931): 24; John Drewry, "Presidential Address: The Journalist's Inferiority Complex," *Journalism Quarterly* 8 (1931): 21; Miller, "The Professional Spirit," 7; Donald K. Ross, "Willard G. Bleyer and Journalism Education," *Journalism Quarterly* 34 (1957): 473.

V. The Results

The result of these conflicts was the persistence of alternative routes into journalism. A system of elite, Class A schools of journalism restricting entry to the field to only those with "professional" training did not emerge. Instead, the Class A schools existed alongside the trade schools and more traditional types of on-the-job training, both for holders of nonjournalism liberal arts degrees and for those with only high school diplomas.

Evidence for these conclusions comes from a series of sociological studies of the backgrounds of journalists during the first fifty years of the schools' existence. These studies indicate that considerably less than half of the editors and reporters surveyed were trained in journalism schools. Table 1 reproduces the results of five such studies done between 1931 and 1954. In only one study did the proportion of journalism school-trained editors and reporters reach one-third, and that level was only in a study of one Milwaukee daily. While these figures provide only crude indications, because of the widely different sample populations, the general conclusions are clear.

If a variety of pathways into the occupation persisted, it might be reasonable to expect to find certain types of aspiring journalists in greater concentration in certain pathways than in others. Throughout this period, journalism was predominantly a white male occupation, although white women made steady inroads. It seems reasonable to assume that the more informal paths of entry into the occupation would similarly be dominated by white men. Groups who were excluded from these pathways for reasons of gender, race, or social class might then be more likely to turn to the formal credential of a journalism degree to gain access to the occupation. Such a hypothesis would be supported by data showing a marked difference between the makeup of the journalism student body and that of the occupation itself.

A gender analysis of the graduation lists for the first ten years of the Medill School at Northwestern, the first twenty years at the University of Missouri, and a 1925 list of 382 graduates from twenty-six different schools and departments show that women made up a greater percentage of the student body than of the occupation as a whole. For example, of the 916 who graduated from the University of Missouri journalism school between 1909 and 1928, 352 (38.4 percent) were women. Of the 227 who graduated from the Medill School between 1922 and 1931, 111 (48.8 percent) were women. And of the 1925 list, 156 (40.8 percent) were women. Figures from the census for the "editors and reporters" occupational category, on the other hand, show that women made up only 12.2 percent of the occupation in 1910, 16.8 percent in 1920, and 23 percent in 1930.[56]

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56. The graduation figures for Medill come from *Northwestern University Bulletin: The President's Report*, vols. 22-32 (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1922-31). The Missouri figures come from Williams, *Twenty Years of Journalism Education*, 453. The 1925 figures were published in "The 1925 Graduates," *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (1925): 31-34. The occupational figures are from *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, vol. 5, General Report on Occupations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 20.

Table 1
Degree-Holding Among Journalists Surveyed, 1931-1954

	1931	1937	1941*	1950*	1954a	1954b
Sample size	(505)	(127)	(55)	(112)	(2,483)	(633)
Percent holding bachelor's of journalism	12.7**	10.2	33.0	30.0	26.6	20.1
Percent holding nonjournalism bachelor's degree	40.8	51.1	55.5	60.0	54.2	70.5
Percent holding master's in journalism	--	--	--	--	2.0	1.8
Percent holding nonjournalism master's	--	6.2	--	4.0	4.1	4.6

Notes: *: Studies of individual local newspapers. **: Percentage of those journalists surveyed who received "any professional training;" percentage of total sample not provided.

Sources: **1931**: Robert Harrel and Walter Pitkin, *Vocational Studies in Journalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 152. **1937**: Leo Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937), 328-329. **1941**: Francis Prugger, "Social Composition and Training of *Milwaukee Journal* News Staff," *Journalism Quarterly* 18 (1941): 234. **1950**: Warren Carl Engstrom, *Social Composition and Training of the* Minneapolis Star and Tribune *News and Editorial Staffs* (M.A. thesis: University of Minnesota, 1950). **1954a** and **1954b**: Keen Rafferty and Leonard L. Jermain, "College Backgrounds of Staffs of American Daily Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 41(1954): 492.

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Such figures provide only crude indications, but they are backed up by the visible discomfort of journalism educators at the number of women in their courses. A Wisconsin journalism professor wrote in 1928 that offering a course in "women's departments" broadened the available field of study, thus saving the school from "the embarrassment incident to the persistent influx of women students into journalism courses." Similarly, the Dean of the Medill School praised the 1937 reorganization of the program on a graduate basis because it "materially reduced the number of women in the school." In her own survey of the hostility of journalism educators toward women, Maurine Beasley concluded that "journalism education provided a credential for women who, far more than men, were barred from the alternative route of on-the-job training."[58]

VI. Conclusions

By the mid-1950s, the professional thrust that had motivated the initial creation of the schools began to recede in importance. The elite schools faced challenges on another front – the invasion of their academic turf by the new discipline of communications. Research began to play an increasingly important role in the schools' justification of their existence. The year 1955 saw the first "rump session" devoted to research in mass communications at the annual

57. The graduation figures for Medill come from *Northwestern University Bulletin: The President's Report*, vols. 22-32 (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1922-31). The Missouri figures come from Williams, *Twenty Years of Journalism Education*, 453. The 1925 figures were published in "The 1925 Graduates," *Journalism Bulletin* 2 (1925): 31-34. The occupational figures are from *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, vol. 5, General Report on Occupations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 20.

58. Maurine Beasley, "Women in Journalism Education: The Formative Period, 1908-1930," *Journalism History* 13 (1986): 17; "Study of the School of Journalism," 1940, MSJP, no box number, Folder 1, "Reports, Proposals, Papers," Northwestern University Archives; Grant Hyde, "Raising the Quality of Students," *Journalism Bulletin* 4 (1928): 21.

meeting of journalism educators. By 1958, it was a regular feature of the convention. *Journalism Quarterly* began its transformation into a forum for presenting quantitative research rather than proposals on furthering the professionalization of journalism.[59]

The conflict between trade schools and professional schools thus ended in a stalemate. Unlike other professions, in which a strong coalition of practitioners and educators created a system of restricted professional education, in journalism no such coalition emerged. Nonetheless, the journalism degree became a valuable credential for some who were barred from the alternative routes into the field. So, while the educators did not realize their vision of the schools controlling access to journalism, the schools helped students realize a different set of visions.

APPENDIX

The thirty-two schools in the category of elite schools included the following, with date of origin of instruction in journalism: Stanford University, 1910; University of Southern California, 1915; University of Colorado, 1909; University of Georgia, 1915; Northwestern University, 1921; University of Illinois, 1902; Indiana University, 1902; Iowa State College, 1905; University of Iowa, 1892; Kansas State College, 1873; University of Kansas, 1903; University of Kentucky, 1914; Louisiana State University, 1912; Boston University, 1914; University of Michigan, 1895; University of Minnesota, 1910; University of Missouri, 1878; Montana State University, 1914; University of Nebraska, 1894; Rutgers University, 1925; Columbia University 1912; New York University, 1911; Syracuse University, 1919; Ohio State University, 1895; University of Oklahoma, 1908; University of Oregon, 1912; Pennsylvania State College, 1914; University of Texas, 1914; Washington and Lee University, 1869-78, 1925; University of Washington, 1909; Marquette University, 1910; University of Wisconsin, 1905. **Source**: Albert A. Sutton, *Education for Journalism in the United States from Its Beginning to 1940* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, 1945), 39.

The author is an assistant professor of history at the University of Puget Sound and a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago.

59. Emery and McKerns, "75 Years in the Making," 39-40. The two cumulative indexes to *Journalism Quarterly* provide a useful categorization of articles that clearly shows the changing focus of the journal.

Do You Belong in Journalism?: Definitions of the Ideal Journalist in Career Guidance Books

By Linda Steiner

Career guidance books defined the ideal journalist as someone who is aggressive, persistent, physically and emotionally tough, and male. An ethical sensibility is less important, these books say, than typing or related technical skills.

A 1968 book about journalism careers published by the American Newspaper Publishers Association defined the ideal reporter in a mock classified ad: "Wanted – Individual with innate curiosity, intelligence, college education (not merely degree), writing ability, typing proficiency. Must have capacity to dig for news and to write it accurately, fully and intelligibly even under deadline pressure. Must possess interest, versatility, and skill to reduce complex issues to lucid, simple English for demanding readers seeking not merely facts but comprehension in an era of unparalleled complexity, perplexity, ferment, change."[1]

That "advertisement" was far from the first attempt to sketch a profile of the ideal journalist. For several decades before the mock classified saw the light of print, vocational guidance books – literature designed to help young adults choose appropriate careers – had been describing the model reporter. This article examines what that literature said about what journalism requires in and of its practitioners.

Studied here are seventy books about mass media careers published in the United States since 1891.[2] Primarily as a way of highlighting American

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1. American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation, *Your Future in Daily Newspapers* (New York: self-published, 1968), 9.
2. This represents all relevant books in Warren Price, *Literature of Journalism: An Annotated Bibliography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1959), in the *American Book Publishing Record* (1876-1981), and the *Cumulative Book Index*

patterns, some British vocational literature is mentioned briefly.[3] By defining the ideal reporter, these books suggest both journalism students' expectations and preconceptions and the probable characteristics of budding reporters over the century.[4] Nearly all the books were written by experienced journalists and journalism teachers who promised to offer "accurate, realistic descriptions of each [journalism] field, avoiding sentimentality and false idealism."[5] Whatever their credibility, the truthfulness of the models is not the issue here. The question instead is what kinds of people have or have not been "recruited" as journalists – and on what basis.

Students trying to make career decisions may consult parents, teachers, guidance counselors, and practitioners, as well as various kinds of printed information. Certainly reporters regularly evaluate journalism's needs and opportunities in popular and trade periodicals and in books. But high school and college students are also urged to consult vocational literature. These books were widely available in municipal and college libraries. Some of them were designed as textbooks for formal courses.[6] About one-third of the books used here were published in a career series.

The article first summarizes the context for vocational literature about journalism, that is, the vocational guidance movement generally and the emergence of journalism criticism and training more specifically. The vocational guidance books themselves are then analyzed in terms of what they said about the personal attributes, skills, and experiences necessary for success, and about journalism's opportunities and rewards. The research shows a fair degree of consistency over the century – including the sense communicated that women have presented a special case. This essay concludes with a comparison of what male and female authors have said about women's possibilities. How representative was James Kilpatrick, then editor of the *Richmond News Leader*? Dismissing most women reporters as ornamental hacks, with some not even ornamental, he forthrightly commended to females modeling, nursing, cooking, and breast-feeding, "all of which women do better than men."[7]

(1982-1991). Some scholars have categorized some of these books in other ways, including Julian Ralph's (as autobiography). Several books about women's opportunities provided both vocational guidance and reporting instruction. Neither the categories in these reference books nor card catalog numbers are dispositive. Included here are those books whose authors said that vocational guidance for college students, or high school seniors (i.e., not younger students), was their major goal.

3. Despite differences in its press and its system for journalism education, British vocational literature about journalism was very similar to that published in the United States.

4. To claim that it matters who works for the press (and how they have been recruited, trained, and socialized) is not to deny that explanations of the press should be grounded in the relationship of press forms, routines, structures, and functions to larger political, economic, social, and technological structures and values.

5. Charles Elkins Rogers, *Journalistic Vocations* (New York: D. Appleton, 1931), vii.

6. This was even more true of the general overviews. Because vocational and professional educators (i.e., not journalists) wrote most of the broad surveys and inventories, they were not studied here.

7. Quoted in Henry Gemmill and Bernard Kilgore, eds., *Do You Belong in Journalism?* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1959), 50.

Early Vocational Guidance

Americans generally assume that wise career choices determine not only whether individuals are happy, productive, and successful but also whether society is well-served. According to one scholarly definition, career education helps people "become familiar with the values of a work-oriented society...and to implement these values into their lives in such a way that work becomes possible, meaningful, and satisfying."[8] Several early books about journalism began by emphasizing the need for careful research, given the momentous and enduring consequences of career choices. One journalist defined vocation as "in a very real sense the center of most...relations in life."[9]

The importance of appropriate work choices notwithstanding, vocational guidance was at best informal through the end of the federalist era in the United States. With the exception of a couple of surveys of trades and professions, the so-called "success books" constituted the major vocational guidance of the nineteenth century.[10] For example, Orison Swett Marden produced several "inspirational" books; his *Pushing to the Front; or Success under Difficulties* and *Fate; or Steps to Success and Power* both appeared in 1895.[11]

By the 1880s, America's emergence as a major industrial nation forced attention to effective development and deployment of workers. Dramatic increases in both foreign immigration and migration of rural people to cities led several influential figures to advocate vocational guidance and education. Social reformers of the late nineteenth century developed a number of projects connecting work with self-respect and self-determination. In 1905 Frank Parsons and other civic reformers opened the Breadwinners' College to train young wage earners, especially immigrants. The Vocation Bureau of Boston, which Parsons briefly directed until his death, opened in 1908 to help young people select, prepare for, enter, and build careers. Parsons advocated multiple activities, including reading biography, observing workers in their settings, and studying occupational descriptions.

Parsons, trained as an engineer, lawyer, and teacher, sought to articulate a "scientific" theory for career choice. Rejecting palmistry, phrenology, and physiognomy as the bases for career guidance, he emphasized three broad categories:

> (1) a clear understanding of yourself, your aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations, and their causes;
> (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success,

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8. Kenneth Hoyt, R. Evans, E. Mackin and G. Mangum, *Career Education* (Salt Lake City: Olympus, 1974, 2e), 15.
9. Chester S. Lord, *The Young Man as Journalist* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), v.
10. John Brewer, *History of Vocational Guidance* (New York: Harpers, 1942). The account herein of the history of vocational guidance relies significantly on Brewer. See also J.O. Crites, *Career Counselling* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969).
11. Other popular success writers included William D. Matthews, a University of Chicago professor of English (*Getting on in the World; or Hints on Success in Life*, 1875) and William Makepeace Thayer, a Massachusetts minister (*Ethics of Success*, 1893).

> advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work; (3) true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts.[12]

His trait-and-factor framework was not so different from Obadiah Walker's advice, published in 1673, that choice of calling should be based on its advantages or disadvantages, the temptations it is likely to present, and one's strengths, inclinations, and abilities.[13] In any case, Parsons's second step demanded comparative information, i.e., the literature studied here.[14] Parsons himself advocated extensive use of vocational inventories. Monographs published by the Modern Vocational Trends Bureau and other vocational institutes, including those on journalism careers, follow directly from Parsons.

By the 1960s, the dynamics of decision-making processes took on greater significance. Information issued at specific moments became less crucial. Nevertheless, modern vocational taxonomies continue to share a concern about inadequate information, and vocational educators still emphasize information about specific careers. Without referring to "true reasoning," current mass media career advice explains how to identify and "match" personal and corporate needs.

Journalism Criticism

Well before vocational guidance emerged institutionally, journalists were weighing the advantages and disadvantages of their career, in order to attract those for whom the field was appropriate and to discourage the rest. This became important in the decades after the Civil War, when the huge growth in the number and size of newspapers, as well as the emergence of a highly specialized division of labor in journalism, brought steady improvement in the market for experienced reporters.[15]

More important, post-Civil War Americans tended to be highly critical of the press, if only because they were increasingly convinced of its vital mission in American life, culture, and politics. By the late nineteenth century, the functions and performance as well as abuses of the press were often discussed.[16] Critics bemoaned how press practices and structures ruined decent

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12. Frank Parsons, *Choosing a Vocation* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 5.
13. Obadiah Walker, *Of Education, especially of Young Gentlemen* (Yorkshire, England: The Scolar Press, 1970, facsimile of 1673 edition), 202. Men usually cannot judge this themselves, Walker added, so they should seek advice from God, wife, and experienced persons.
14. In calling for better information about individuals, the Parson's "first step" eventually prompted psychometric research on individual differences.
15. Hazel Dicken-Garcia dates the emergence of defined, fulltime roles such as reporters and various levels of editors, to 1860. Less often was one person simultaneously reporter, editor, publisher, and printer. Furthermore, she says, the Civil War signaled the end of the penny press type of journalism dominated by the editor's personality. Thereafter, readers were more interested in the work of correspondents and reporters. *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 42-61.
16. Dicken-Garcia, *Standards*.

writers, if they entered journalism at all. *Nation* editor Edwin Godkin, for example, called reporting "not a good place for scrupulous men."[17]

Since journalists' skill level was not regarded as a major problem, journalism education was not a major solution during the nineteenth century.[18] Although many scholars and journalists acknowledged the value of college education, they said that "journalism cannot be taught by book or lesson."[19] Even many of the career books studied here, especially those published before the 1930s, agreed, "Newspaper men are born and not made."[20] Nonetheless, concordant with the push for vocational and professional training generally and with critiques of the press, calls for journalism education grew more vehement. Despite reporters' skepticism, several American universities offered lectures or courses in reporting in the 1880s and 1890s. Several formal journalism programs began in the 1900s and the number grew exponentially over the next 30 years.[21] Not coincidentally, the number of books about journalism careers increased dramatically as more universities established journalism programs. These books were a crucial mechanism for steering the right people to college and the right students to the field, although not until recently did they promote formal journalism education with enthusiasm.

Finally, concerns about journalism careers and the growth in vocational literature about journalism can be linked to reporters' continuing interest in professionalization and enhanced status. A 1922 career book by Chester Lord warned away "hacks," who worked not for the pleasure of public service and intellectual stimulation, but merely for pecuniary reward. Newspapers were being overrun, complained the *New York Sun*'s managing editor, by incompetents – journalism school graduates, broken-down clergymen, discarded teachers.[22] Similarly, in 1987 a communications consultant bemoaned the hordes of indecisive and incompetent people who, attracted to mass media for its much-vaunted power and mystique, fail to recognize that communications professions (no less than medicine and law) require high intellectual abilities.[23]

The Ideal Journalist

Lists of necessary virtues have been remarkably similar over the century, with curiosity, powers of observation, accurate hearing, physical hardiness, and emotional stamina appearing consistently. "A nose for news"

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17. Quoted in Dicken-Garcia, *Standards*, 199.
18. Marion Marzolf shows that in the 1880-1950 period, few press critics focused on possibilities for improving the quality of journalists – but this was mentioned. *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950* (New York: Longman, 1991).
19. Nathaniel G. Fowler, Jr., *The Handbook of Journalism* (New York: Sully and Kleinteich, 1913), 1.
20. Julian Ralph, *The Making of a Journalist* (New York: Harper, 1903), 175. Until the 1930s, most of the books repeated these words.
21. For a brief history of journalism education, see Marzolf, *Civilizing*; also Walter Wilcox, "Historical Trends in Journalism Education," *Journalism Educator* 14 (July 1959): 2-7, 32.
22. Lord, *The Young Man.*
23. F.R. Shonan Noronha, *Careers in Communications* (Lincolnwood, Ill.: VGM Career Horizons, 1987), 5.

appeared in 1903 and in nearly every account thereafter.[24] Given the profession's chronically long, irregular hours and physical discomfort, "leg power" consistently appeared in vocational literature, as did persistence, perseverance, and "thick skin."[25]

In addition to a nose for news and a "sixth sense" or instinct for immediate action, Ralph promoted professional aptitude, unconquerable persistence, good-nature (including wit and cheerfulness), ingenuity, enthusiasm, courage, tact, and self-sacrifice. A half-century later, a *Detroit Free Press* editor used an equally long list to describe the ideal journalist: literate, sincere, enthusiastic, dependable, reasonably sober, responsible, open-minded, hard-working, sound judgment, curious, and above all, dedicated to the idea that his job "is the most important, most significant, and most worthwhile of all jobs."[26]

The point here is that multiple talents are necessary. Not just anybody could succeed in journalism. One reporter attributed the paucity of first-rate reporters to the requirement for so many talents: alertness, resourcefulness, enthusiasm, love of hard work, good memory, health, ambition, extraordinary powers of observation, and natural aptitude.[27] No wonder, he said, "garden variety" papers abounded. Likewise, the first dean of Columbia's journalism school maintained that, in journalism, "being an art, not a profession, many are called and few are chosen." According to Dean Talcott Williams, divinity, law, medicine, engineering, and business "merely" required health, strength, physical and mental ability, and determination. In contrast, Williams suggested, the "noble calling of journalism" additionally required personal access to many people, the ability to tolerate hardships, typing ability, the habit of reading and learning rapidly, good eyesight, and good "vision."[28]

To be sure, the model evolved over time. Although "pleasant personality," "courteousness," and "sociability" are still appreciated, vocational literature published after World War II abandoned references to "tact." "Aggressiveness," "objectivity," and "skepticism" emerged as important during the Vietnam War. In the late 1960s career experts began to warn that journalism was open only to "those who are innovative, creative, and aggressive," with wire services requiring extra aggressiveness.[29] One journalism professor demanded "fanatic" devotion to the "twin gods of objectivity and accuracy."[30]

Ethics never became a dominant theme. Nathaniel Fowler struck a rather defensive note on this question in both a 1906 career inventory and a 1913 book about newspaper work. Arguing that no profession is more honorable than journalism, Fowler said most reporters are morally superior to most of their readers.[31] The head of journalism at New York University quoted Adolph Ochs

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24. Ralph, *The Making*.
25. British authors particularly underscored journalism's roughness, predicting that until reporters were fully "organized," their situation would remain precarious.
26. Quoted in Gemmill and Kilgore, *Do You*, 15.
27. John L. Given, *Making a Newspaper* (New York: Henry Holt, 1907), 149-150.
28. Talcott Williams, *The Newspaperman* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 2.
29. Norohna, *Careers*, 7.
30. Eric Rhodin, *Newspapermen* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1967), 2.
31. Fowler, *Handbook of Journalism*, 286.

as urging prudence, and charity.[32] A more recent book first called on reporters to be articulate, presentable, aggressive, aware of current events, hard-working, and able to write, spell, and type; next on the list came being sociable, curious, fair, ethical, honest, persistent, and thick-skinned.[33] Dedication (or "fire in one's soul"), honesty, and accuracy still enjoy frequent mention. But moral integrity gets remarkably little attention in the vocational literature, despite mounting criticism of journalism's ethical standards.

Holdouts for the view of journalism as a craft or trade have maintained that reporting requires little beyond basic skills, ambition, and hard work. Arguing that journalism was a practical career, not a calling, John Dawson said, "What is requisite is the literary ability to retain news in plain everyday language, and to comment on the same with a liberal display of common sense, fairness, and clearness."[34] Genius was unnecessary. "Work, and if you possess any ability at all, you are sure, sooner or later, to reap the reward of your labors," he reassured would-be journalists. More recently, a *New York Post* editor declared, "All it takes is talent, drive, aggressiveness, high energy, and a real desire to work." Likewise, television reporter Morley Safer said journalism merely required writing ability, slavish devotion to precision, and curiosity.[35]

Those emphasizing professionalism gave more thought to which intellectual areas were useful. Before World War II – when reporters were not required to have formal higher education – professionalism apparently demanded specific fields of liberal arts study. In the interests of broad education, vocational experts typically endorsed foreign languages, from Latin and Greek to French and German. They highly recommended government, history, literature, sociology, economics, geography, law, and politics. Books published over the last thirty years, however, in a parallel spirit of discouraging specialization, rarely mentioned specific liberal arts courses. Instead, they agreed that journalism education is required, or at least "information skills" or generic "communication skills."[36] Usually the explanation is that the journalism degree confers a competitive edge. Another justification is the profession's increasing technological complexity: "In this era of rapidly changing information

32. James Melvin Lee, *Opportunities in the Newspaper Business* (Harper and Brothers, 1919), 95.

33. Thomas Pawlick, *Exploring Careers in Journalism* (New York: Richards Rosen, 1981).

34. John Dawson, *Practical Journalism. How to Enter thereon and Succeed* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 2.

35. Quoted in Jim Patten and Donald Fergusen, *Opportunities in Journalism Careers* (Lincolnwood, Ill.: VGM Career Horizons, 1990), v. They also quoted Safer claiming no special gifts were necessary.

36. E.g., John M. Barry, *Opportunities in Journalism Careers* (New York: Vocational Guidance, 1967); Noronha, *Careers*.

technology, there is a new seriousness and competitiveness in journalism, and training in a variety of skills helps the cub reporter cope."[37]

Compensation Outlook

All vocational authors warned that journalism does not pay particularly well, although only a few actually called the pay "deplorable." Most books mentioned that weeklies and smaller dailies offered even less money and less security. On the other hand, the claim that salaries and status were "finally" improving appeared in books from every decade since the 1900s, when, for example, Dawson agreed that status and income were rising with the entry of better-educated journalists. While not huge, he said somewhat implausibly, journalism salaries equaled those earned in law, medicine, and the church – and surpassed those in the arts.

Authors consistently asserted over the century that the Bohemian image of reporters was both inaccurate and responsible for their low status and low pay. Career books of the early 1900s vigorously denounced the "distorted" and "unfair" reputation of journalists as hard-drinking, disheveled, and hard-boiled. Authors of the 1970s disputed film and television versions of newsmen as bad-mannered, cynical, and sneaky; instead, they said, journalists should be seen as basically honest, ethical, hard-working, college-educated, and deserving decent salaries and their front seats to history.[38]

The even louder message over the century is that reporters' true rewards are not monetary. Journalism's "silver linings" include serving democracy and meeting rich and powerful people, that is, "the men who control the affairs of the world."[39] One book called journalism "an exciting, lazy, frustrating, demanding, sloppy, rewarding way of life."[40] While references to journalistic "mission" largely dropped out by the late 1970s, journalism was still described as a thrilling way of life. Except for those few lured away by higher salaries, reporters loved their work. "A good reporter...lives and breathes his work. It becomes a sort of addiction, as strong as, but infinitely more rewarding than any narcotic drug."[41] As John Tebbel put it, curiosity "is something that never dies in the true newspaperman's psychic make-up."[42] Pro-union and pro-Newspaper Guild authors have been more apt to be sanguine regarding salaries and working conditions (indeed, taking credit for improvements), but even an AFL-CIO staffer pointed to intangibles as journalism's most important rewards.[43]

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37. Leonard Ray Teel and Ron Taylor, *Into the Newsroom* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 1.
38. Cf. Dawson, *Practical*, to M. L. Stein, *Your Career in Journalism* (New York: Julian Messner, 1978). Career authors now additionally challenge what they regard as a new distorted mythology, the slick television journalist earning six figures.
39. Lord, *Young*, 14. In part to highlight how masculinity was often assumed in these books, I have not changed or marked authors' references to "men" and "newspapermen." See also Teel, *Into*.
40. Leonard Eames Ryan and Bernard Ryan, Jr. *So You Want to Go into Journalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 31.
41. Pawlick, *Exploring*, 19.
42. John Tebbel, *Opportunities in Journalism Careers* (Lincolnwood, Ill.: VGM Career Horizons, 1982), 7.
43. Barry, *Opportunities*.

The prognosis for entry and advancement opportunities, nonetheless, has become progressively gloomier, especially for print journalists. Noronha's 1987 book, *Careers in Communications*, said new social needs and technologies opened up "exciting," "challenging" opportunities in journalism. But given stiff competition, even she warned, few will become a Woodward or a Walters. Certainly Julian Ralph's 1903 warning has been regularly reissued: "Don't even try journalism unless you are certain it is your forte."[44]

The Question of Women

The most striking changes in the vocational literature over the century concern women's possibilities and opportunities, or lack thereof. A dozen or so books addressed men exclusively. Several others published before World War II referred to women only when noting that many papers employed one or two women to cover women's activities and interests.[45] The others, however, explicitly recognized women's interest and devoted a section or chapter to their "special" situation.

This was already true in the late nineteenth century, especially among the British books on journalism careers. An 1880 writer warned women against the self-defeating "feminine" practice of sending editors pathetic, maudlin letters begging to be published.[46] In his 1888 book about journalism careers, the principal of the London College of Shorthand celebrated the Fourth Estate as a dignified profession for gentlemen, but the prospectus for his college, printed in the book, also addressed "ladies."[47] Seven years later, *How to Become a Journalist* attributed England's lack of "lady reporters" to the unfeminine nature of the work, the uncomfortable conditions, and the irregular hours.[48] Elsewhere, however, Ernest Phillips declared, "Only let [the female aspirant] be diligent and painstaking, ever on the alert to keep in touch with feminine sympathies, and she may rely upon it that she will have no cause to regret having embarked upon the career of a lady journalist."[49] And in 1903 an *Idler* editor advised women with typing expertise to begin as editors' secretaries, albeit at lower pay.[50] Women who worked hard, Arthur Lawrence added reassuringly, could eventually earn enough to keep a motor car and a husband.

In the United States, interestingly, the sole nineteenth-century guidance book by a woman integrated advice by and for men and women. Alice Mylene quoted the comments of several men bemoaning women writers' imprecision, their reliance on femininity, and especially their exaggerated sense of self-worth. Her female sources, however, cast "writers" in gender-neutral terms.[51]

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44. Ralph, *Making*, 7.
45. E.g., Neil MacNeil, *How to be a Newspaperman* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1942), 69.
46. John Oldcastle (pseudonym for Wilfrid Meynell), *Journals and Journalism* (London: Field & Tuer, 1880), 16.
47. Oliver McEwen, *A Press Career* (London: Charles J.A. Cox, 1888).
48. Ernest Phillips, *How to Become a Journalist* (London: Sampson Low, Marsten, 1895). Phillips acknowledged that American papers hired more women.
49. Phillips, *How*, 150.
50. Arthur Lawrence, *Journalism as a Profession* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903).
51. Alice R. Mylene, ed., *To Write or Not to Write* (Boston: Morning Star, 1891).

Most of the American men had fairly discouraging words when they acknowledged women's career interests. Given declared: "To state the plain truth, a woman never gets a place in the general newsroom because she is a reporter, but only because she is a woman....For the services of a woman in a newspaper office there is not much demand."[52] According to Given, most newspapermen regarded women as "entirely out of place" in the newsroom. American men avoided the language of those British journalists who asserted flatly that women lacked the "necessary equipment." Instead, American men tended to emphasize the defeminizing nature of the newsroom and the excellent opportunities in fashion and society news and in clerical positions. The *New York World*'s business manager explained: "To be a woman reporter is not especially agreeable, particularly under the direction of an editor given to ''freak assignments."[53]

The evident determination of women to seek out journalism's glamour and excitement, if not status and profit, eventually brought publication of several books specifically for them – nearly always written by women. These books sometimes combined exuberant reassurance with gloomy predictions. For example, a *New York Sun* reporter complained that women reporters had no monetary or executive future, although she said that anyone with sound ideas and determination could succeed.[54] More often, the books for women celebrated the specializations assumed to be women's unique province, given the "naturally diverging viewpoints" of the sexes. They extolled journalism's widening possibilities at the same time they funneled women into beats for women readers. A 1927 book, for example, emphasized American women reporters' tremendous progress since 1900.[55] Ethel Brazelton conceded that some work was still essentially off-limits to women and that some editors did not pay equally for equal work. But Brazelton, who taught writing for women, enthusiastically pointed out that women's beats were important enough to require college preparation and professional expertise. "Common sense, courtesy, persistence, courage, and quiet cheerful determination make mightily for success," Brazelton explained.[56] She added, "a feminine newspaper career is decidedly handicapped" without good manners, attractive dress, and a pleasing personality.[57] British women also cheerfully focused on women journalists' unique ability to report on women. Their position was that women needed the same grit, enthusiasm, and so forth that men needed, but only women could cover what interested women readers.[58]

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52. Given, *Making*, 279. Given conceded some relatively low-paid possibilities for women in the social, fashion, and food sections.
53. Don C. Seitz, *Training for the Newspaper Trade* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1916), 36. In contrast, Seitz (17) said journalism makes young men "broad-minded and rouses an intellectual activity not inspired in any other profession or trade."
54. Mabel Green, quoted in Miriam Lundy, ed. *Writing Up the News* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1939), 45.
55. Ethel M. Colson Brazelton, *Writing and Editing for Women* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1927).
56. Brazelton, *Writing*, 196.
57. Ibid, 190.
58. See, e.g., Myfanwy I. Crawshay, *Journalism for Women* (London: Fleet Publications, 1932).

Applying social scientific method in the interest of realism, several authors based vocational counselling on survey data. Iona Logie's *Careers for Women in Journalism*, published in 1938, extended her Ph.D. dissertation, a survey of 881 salaried women writers, about half of them reporters.[59] Women apparently described journalism in ways remarkably similar to male reporters.[60] As career hindrances, men had mentioned domestic difficulties, as well as laziness, thin skin, poor health, and inaccuracy. One major difference was that whereas men emphasized liberal education above everything else, Logie's women put excellent health and strength first: "[T]he daily drain on physical stamina, on nerves, on fortitude and self-control in the face of all types of social evils must inevitably take its toll of all but the most hardy."[61] Because over half of her respondents complained of discrimination, Logie issued several prescriptions for ameliorating sexism: play fair, look feminine, work twice as hard as men, and develop perfect reportorial habits.

Charles Rogers, a journalism professor at Kansas State University, also derived his prescriptions from surveys and descriptions of working journalists. His book, published in 1931, included a daunting chapter on the underpaid, much-contested, and still stigmatized place of women. It opened with a woman writer's prediction: "It will be a good many years before men cease to believe that an incompetent man is incompetent but an incompetent woman is a woman."[62] Agreeing with Genevieve Boughner, whose 1926 book explained the desirability of specializing in areas that demanded the feminine touch, Rogers also touted public relations, because "men regard the trade of publicity, which many profess to loathe, as good enough for women."[63] Professing amazement at women's stubborn refusal to be discouraged by prejudice, Rogers speculated:

> A few take it in preference to the drudgery of teaching or as a means of combining it pleasantly with teaching. No doubt there is something in the biological and psychological explanation. Journalism...could, like teaching, naturally become a sublimation for motherhood.[64]

Not all women journalists enthusiastically took up their apparent responsibility to reconcile women to ghettoized sections. Lorine Pruette complained in 1941 that women were restricted to writing for and about women. Although she presented reporting as boring and unpleasant for men, Pruette said it was worse for women: sexism tainted reporting, editorial, and magazine work. She agreed with Rogers that advertising was open to women (in Rogers' view,

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59. Iona Logie, *Careers for Women in Journalism* (Scranton, Pa.: International Textbook Co., 1938).

60. Walter B. Pitkin and Robert F. Harrel surveyed male reporters for *Studies in Journalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931). Burges Johnson, however, a former magazine editor teaching at Vassar, surveyed two hundred graduates and concluded that women typically saw journalism as an adventure, whereas most men saw reporting as a step toward some other career objective. *Earning a Living by the Pen* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y: Vassar College, 1926).

61. Logie, *Careers*, 152.

62. Rogers, *Journalistic*, 259.

63. Ibid., 269

64. Ibid., 261.

advertising employers sought them because women would work for less money). On the other hand, Pruette still urged women to strive toward the ultimate accolade: being called "a good newspaper *man*." Extending Logie, Pruette cautioned:

> Don't ask for special privileges because you are a girl; don't accept them when they are urged upon you. Don't be temperamental, don't gossip, don't talk about your headache, and never, never burst into tears.[65]

Lady Editor also stressed being aggressive, driven, tough, persevering, determined, energetic. But this World War II book found few women able to endure journalism's hardships: physical and emotional strain; unpredictable private life; lack of tenure; and the "stultifying" necessity of writing quickly and tersely. Marjorie Shuler's sources offered contradictory analyses. For example, regarding foreign correspondents, one reporter said both that deserving women get fair breaks and that women "cannot possibly do all the things men reporters have to do."[66] Another reporter defended the male editors who were reluctant to send women abroad on the grounds that foreign posts were dangerous, and men wanted these assignments. Yet this book, ignoring the possibility that women might be fired once the war was over, concluded: "If you have a talent, and a love for the editorial life, and if you are willing to work, forsaking all other jobs for this particular one, and if you persist, then the chances are that luck will favor you."[67]

Post-World War II literature allowed for various approaches to the issues, with much of the guidance echoing the "feminine mystique." A compilation of seventy writers' views included two women who agreed that only women could properly cover women's sphere, i.e., women's domestic activities. A woman teaching at the Medill School at Northwestern University asserted: "A highly gratifying result in writing for women is that a girl learns so much of benefit to herself in managing her own wardrobe, home, and affairs."[68] Another postwar textbook described reporting as "a man's world," because men in charge believed that women who want to work should "choose an occupation sheltered from the ugly realities that journalists encounter."[69] Furthermore, they acknowledged, without criticism, with the war over, men would likely reclaim their positions. Women's best chances, then, lay in the specialties in which they "naturally" excelled – dealing with women and home.[70] And none of the eighteen editors contributing to a 1959 book regarded the chances of "girls" and

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65. Lorine Pruette, *Working with Words* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1940), 119.
66. Marjorie Shuler, Ruth Adams Knight, and Muriel Fuller, *Lady Editor* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1941), 80.
67. Shuler, *Lady*, 174.
68. In Laurence R. Campbell, ed., *Careers in Journalism* (Chicago: Northwestern University, 1946), 71. Moreover, she added, "Home is a practical workshop in which to learn by doing" (70).
69. R.E. Wolseley and Laurence R. Campbell, *Exploring Journalism. With Special Emphasis on its Social and Vocational Aspects* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949), 52.
70. In *Careers in Religious Journalism* (New York: Association Press, 1955), Wolseley admonished women for refusing to heed his advice about developing their secretarial skills.

"boys" as equal, although some of them explicitly urged everyone to prepare for careers in the same way (by getting a general education and broad experience, writing a lot, and working hard).[71]

The sources of the 1960s waxed eloquently about journalism. An editor teaching journalism at Columbia University celebrated women's limitless possibilities – as long as women worked harder than men.[72] According to Herbert Brucker, journalism's only real problem – the difficulty of buying a paper – was solved by marrying the publisher's daughter. But career authors continued to define journalism as men's work, except for women's sections. Given women's difficulty in finding jobs, one 1963 book justified the decision by Columbia and Stanford to limit female enrollment.[73] The case studies opening that book mentioned only one female stringer. "It's a small but steady source of extra income for her, and it keeps her from sinking into a world of baby food and runny noses."[74]

Ira and Beatrice Freeman struck a practical note, acknowledging the difficulty of combining homemaking with a "dangerous" career. Stringing and public relations, they said, allowed women to enjoy the best of two worlds. Otherwise, "A girl's best chances of employment are in women's departments, covering the traditional specialties...."[75] A British couple was even more appreciative of this pattern, with the wife unable to imagine a nicer job than reporting. First, girls were outnumbered on Fleet Street. "Also, women tend to get the more pleasant jobs to do. The horrid, beastly tough stories are almost always given to the men to cover."[76]

Union and Guild advocates expressed the greatest optimism both about careers generally and women's options specifically – in view of their organization's efforts. According to the president of an international organization of journalists, qualified men and women could enjoy a satisfying livelihood.[77] On the other hand, even he quoted two women whose experience was that, despite wartime progress, men still monopolized the top jobs and high salaries. Another Guild representative, having asserted that male strongholds were falling, proceeded to highlight opportunities for women in the business office and in classified ads – where he found that women showed particular talent.[78]

In the mid-1970s authors quietly moved to gender neutrality, abandoning the effort to frame journalism as a masculine enterprise. Few authors directly attributed such changes in either the books or in newsrooms to a combination of uneasy consciences, a desire to improve news coverage, and pressure by feminists and advocacy groups. M. L. Stein was an exception. He credited women's swelling ranks to hard-working women and the women's

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71. Gemmill and Kilgore, *Do You*. Reference to "boys" and "girls" is theirs.
72. Herbert Brucker, *Eyewitness to History* (New York: Macmillan, 1962).
73. Ryan and Ryan, *So You*, did not supply exact numbers; Columbia's quota was 10 percent.
74. Ryan and Ryan, *So You*, 20.
75. Ira Henry Freeman and Beatrice O. Freeman, *Careers and Opportunities in Journalism* (New York: Dutton, 1966), 103.
76. Owen Summer and Unity Hall, *Dateline: Fleet Street* (Reading, England: Educational Explorers, 1969), 45.
77. A. Kenyon, ed., *Entry into Journalism* (London: Medallion, 1948), 8.
78. Barry, *Opportunities*, 26.

liberation movement, as well as emerging trends in journalism.[79] Stein acknowledged that women might not want to be assigned to the women's pages, which, in any case, he celebrated as having been transformed into showcases for hard-hitting stories. But, he promised, once hired, women could lobby for other work.

A modern variant on pragmatism is a *Washington Post* writer's contribution to a series for "new women." Megan Rosenfeld said women reporters were no longer confined to those areas requiring "women's touch," since work was increasingly based on ability.[80] Just in case, she described several discrimination suits filed against newspapers and explained which questions were off-limits during job interviews.

Conclusion

Stein concluded that nothing in life or newspapers is permanent. But the literature on journalism careers provided consistent answers over the century about training (college-level liberal education, and, now, communication skills); entry outlook (competitive); earnings (not commensurate with mission); work environment (chaotic, if not dangerous); advantages (being the first to know); and disadvantages (insufficient status). Furthermore, most authors followed the standard formula and included a prescription for the model practitioner: alert, curious, physically fit and emotionally stable, and, above all, male.

The effects of certain identity factors, such as cultural background, on journalism careers now seem conspicuous by their absence. Sexual orientation was never mentioned. Age was only indirectly addressed through the insistence that journalism was, given its physical and emotional challenges, a young man's profession. Race, ethnicity, and cultural heritage were essentially ignored until the late 1970s, when Stein and a few others saw a new day dawning for racial minorities.[81]

Until the mid-1970s, books about journalistic work explicitly asserted a fundamental incompatibility between women and journalism. Through the 1950s, male career experts typically said reporting was too physically difficult, if not dangerous, for wives and mothers. Ironically, men criticized women for "habitually" abandoning their careers for marriage and motherhood. Only books by women seriously considered the issue of combining family and career.[82]

Moreover, with "feminine" equated with "female," femininity was not helpful in the rough "de-feminizing" world of journalism. Even Pruette recommended, "Unless your job requires the feminine touch, try to write so that no reader will suspect you are a woman."[83] On the other hand, men urged women

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79. Stein, *Your*. His 1965 edition gave a somewhat different account of these changes than the 1978 edition.

80. Megan Rosenfeld, *Careers in Journalism for the New Woman* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1977).

81. O'Wendall Shaw (pseudonym for Oliver W. Shaw) already highlighted the African-American press in *Writing for the Weeklies* (Columbus, Ohio: Russworm Press, 1962).

82. Ironically, less than half of Logie's respondents were married, and of the married women, less than half had children. Rosenfeld, *Careers*, said determined, talented reporters could combine career and family, despite the long hours and stress.

83. Pruette, *Working*, 119.

to avoid seeming masculine. "Unfortunately, many young women who do manage to break into the field often seem to do so at the expense of the very charm that might help them most in the business," one book complained.[84]

Men who discussed individual female reporters rarely found them unable to perform their work. Nor were they able to claim that women lack the technical skills seen as so crucial to journalistic success. Americans, as might be expected, have insisted on various technological competencies, with computer literacy now substituted for shorthand or typing. Defying traditional gendered assumptions about technology, however, they have conceded that women are fully capable of mastering technical skills. Nonetheless, men protected their turf not only by discouraging all those not absolutely committed to journalism but also by funneling women toward jobs in areas that were designed for women, low status, and/or low-paid. These three factors were, of course, connected. Women were steered toward small weeklies or magazines, as well as toward technical and business writing, advertising, and public relations.[85] Ironically women were both encouraged to accept lower-paid jobs and criticized for undermining wage scales. Meanwhile, men were told that, if they were to be successful, they must stay away from the kind of reporting associated with women.

Hazel Dicken-Garcia notes that while some journalists will foreshadow "future values," others will either accommodate established values or will cling to receding values.[86] Career literature in all fields, despite its claims to predicting employment trends, is inherently conservative. These books are unlikely to prescribe workers who are different – more qualified, more ethical, more critical – than what a particular industry demands at a given moment. They have little interest in inspiring either readers or the professions they serve. These authors refused to acknowledge that discouraging certain categories of people or consigning them to isolated ghettos nearly guaranteed their failure. The journalistic career guidance literature essentially reproduced the world it claimed merely to describe.

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84. Ryan and Ryan, *So You.*
85. Reporting textbooks published during the same periods show a similar pattern. See Linda Steiner, "Construction of Gender in News Reporting Textbooks, 1890-1990," *Journalism Monographs* 135 (October 1992).
86. Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic*, 16.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, William Randolph Hearst, and the Practice of Ethical Journalism

By Denise D. Knight

Incensed by the San Francisco Examiner*'s 1892 publication of a sensationalistic account of her impending divorce, American feminist writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) staged a lifelong boycott against newspapers and magazines owned by publishing mogul William Randolph Hearst. Gilman's long-standing crusade against yellow journalism was inextricably linked to her contempt for Hearst and his often-unscrupulous reportorial methods.*

. . .They today of the Yellow Press
Grow rich in hardened wantonness
By the "nose for news" and the "enterprise"
Of insolent shameless hireling spies. . .

On sin and sorrow the ferret thrives
They finger their fellows' private lives,
And noisily publish far and wide
What things their fellows most fair would hide. . .

Under the Press Power great and wide
Their unsigned slanders cower and hide
From outraged Justice they slink behind
Shadowy Companies false and blind. . .

Charlotte Perkins Gilman, from "The Yellow Reporter,"
30 October 1906[1]

1. This poem by Gilman captures her philosophy about the the power of the yellow press to wreak havoc in the lives of citizens.

In a diary entry dated 23 February 1893, American feminist author Charlotte Perkins Stetson [Gilman][2] (1860-1935), then embroiled in a highly publicized and controversial divorce proceeding, noted an encounter that would mark a turning point in her career:

> The *Examiner* sends a man, Mr. Todd, to interview me on my views on the Marriage Question – the decrease of marriage [in society]. I refuse on the ground of the *Examiner's* reputation – [I] will not write for the paper. He begs, he tries to fool me into conversation, he argues, he offers to pay me, he threatens covertly – I succeed in getting rid of him. Am exhausted by the contest, however.[3]

The *San Francisco Examiner*, a William Randolph Hearst publication, did, however, print a highly inflammatory full-page news story on the subject. That article, along with another story on her marital separation published by the *Examiner* the year before, so infuriated Gilman that she vowed never to write for a Hearst publication as long as she lived. In spite of being frequently courted by editors of various Hearst-owned magazines – *Cosmopolitan*, *Bazaar*, *Good Housekeeping*, and several large newspapers – and even after being assured that she would never have to *see* Mr. Hearst in person, Gilman remained steadfast in her refusal to be associated in any way with the vast and monopolistic Hearst empire. "When they asked for contributions," she later wrote, "I always explained that nothing would induce me to appear in anything of his."[4]

In Gilman's opinion, the newspapers and magazines published by William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) epitomized the practice of yellow journalism in America. That view was echoed by numerous critics, including Oswald Garrison Villard (1872-1949), president of the *New York Evening Post*, who charged that Hearst had lowered the whole tone of American journalism "by the example and competition of one whose newspapers were not only unprincipled, but frequently dishonest."[5] Indeed, as Gilman argued, in its "endeavor to reach the largest number of readers," Hearst's vicious and sensationalistic stories preyed upon "the lowest average mind."[6] An eloquent champion of ethical journalism, Gilman offered a reason for the enduring popularity of the yellow press:

> [It] frankly plays on the lowest, commonest of its traits; tickling it with salacious detail, harping on those themes which unlettered peasants find attractive, and for which most

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2. Although Gilman published under the names of Charlotte Anna Perkins, Charlotte Perkins Stetson, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the author has referred to her as Gilman, the name by which she is now best known.

3. Denise D. Knight, ed., *The Diaries of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994). Entry for 23 February 1893. Hereafter *Diaries*.

4. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1935), 303. Hereafter, *Living*.

5. Quoted in John Tebbel's, *The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1952), 129.

6. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Newspapers and Democracy," *Forerunner*, December 1916, 315.

> people retain an unadmitted weakness. This is the secret of our "yellow press"; and of the strange prominence given to unimportant stories of vice even in the mildly cream colored variety .[7]

Among those "unimportant stories" trumpeted by Hearst was Gilman's impending divorce from her first husband, Walter Stetson. Her earliest encounter with a Hearst-owned publication occurred in the fall of 1892 when a reporter from the *San Francisco Examiner* requested information about the divorce suit filed by Stetson on the grounds of desertion. Possessing little experience in interviews, and trusting that reporters were "men and women like the rest of us, governed by similar instincts of decency and kindness,"[8] Gilman revealed to the reporter the details of her separation but naively asked that he "please not spread it about," because she wished to keep it from her dying mother to spare her any worry.[9] Ignoring Gilman's request, however, the *Examiner* published a full-page story. As a result, not only were her mother's last days "further saddened by anxiety" about Gilman's future, but Gilman's "name became a football for all the papers on the coast."[10] From that moment on, Gilman refused to cooperate with any Hearst publication, either in terms of submitting to interviews or by contributing articles. Years later, when she attempted to place some of her writing with American author Theodore Dreiser, then editor of the *Delineator*, he "gloomily" suggested that she "should consider more what the editors want."[11] Gilman, however, rejected his advice. Rather than compromising both her journalistic integrity and her agenda for social change by considering "more what the editors want," Gilman instead formulated a bold new plan – to single-handedly write, edit, and publish her own monthly magazine, the *Forerunner*. It remained in circulation from 1909 to 1916. Although she could never rival William Randolph Hearst, and that was not at all her aim, so determined was Gilman "to express important truths,"[12] to uphold an ethical ideal in journalism, and to try to educate the news-hungry public about the corruption inherent in the yellow press, that she risked financial ruin to undertake the new venture. The *Forerunner* would become the most ambitious project of Gilman's long career as a social reformer.

Born in 1860, a direct descendent of the prominent Beecher family of New England, Charlotte Perkins cultivated an ethical foundation in her youth by "establishing a habit of absolute truthfulness" that she "meant to practise [with] the most meticulous accuracy."[13] She spent much of the summer of 1882 reading Herbert Spencer's *The Data of Ethics*, and ten years later, at the age of thirty-one became a founding member of the Oakland Ethical Society.[14] Those early-formed values fueled Gilman's contempt for yellow journalism, particularly in cases where from either "honest incompetence or malicious intent, the subject

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7. Ibid.
8. *Living*, 142.
9. Ibid., 143.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., 304.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 59.
14. *Diaries*. Entries for 11, 27, and 30 July, 1, 4 August 1882, and 10 February 1892.

is 'misrepresented.' "[15] "The main business of the newspaper is to furnish news – not gossip," Gilman argued. "It may properly add advice, information, instruction, entertainment, and legitimate advertising, but when in any department it perverts its own real purposes in order to 'sell goods,' it is in the same position with the grocer who adulterates his food supplies and displays painted candy to attract children." [16]

Although she was not the first writer to comment on the ethics of journalism (W. S. Lilly had published an article titled "The Ethics of Journalism" in the July 1889 *Forum*),[17] Gilman was certainly one of the most vociferous. Among those whom she denounced for perverting journalistic integrity was writer Ambrose Bierce, a columnist for the *San Francisco Examiner*.[18] A few months after helping to organize the Oakland Ethical Society, Gilman blasted Bierce for his "scurrilous and evil habits" in attacking struggling women writers with his "unmanly gossip and slander."[19] As an active participant in the Pacific Coast Women's Press Association, founded in San Francisco in 1890, Gilman was particularly incensed by Bierce's relentless assaults on its members: "The point is that an able writer constantly attacks and insults defenseless women; regarding neither truth, honor, nor common decency; this all our reading public know. The *Examiner* stands here as an example of the corrupt and does not stand at all elsewhere! Sensational and venal press, and Mr. Bierce's 'Prattle' is a most juicy column in the Sunday edition."[20] Despite her plea that Bierce stop committing "insufferable offense[s] with his pen,"[21] his attacks on Gilman and other members of the PCWPA continued.[22]

Bierce and other reporters justified their journalistic tactics by virtue of the public's desire to know. "What if it does [desire to know]?" Gilman retorted. "A newspaper reporter has no more right to intrude upon a private family and demand information as to their private affairs than has the ice-man," she declared.[23] "That a number of people have the instincts of Peeping Tom does not give them the right to intrude upon personal privacy, nor does it give that right to those papers which pander to a depraved taste, and seek continually to deprave further the taste to which it panders," she insisted. Particularly insidious, she believed, were reporters who would stop at nothing to get a story. In March 1894, for example, the *Examiner* published yet another article on Gilman's impending divorce which also reported on Walter Stetson's growing relationship

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15. "Interviewing," *Forerunner*, February 1914, 36.
16. Ibid., 35.
17. See Hazel Dicken-Garcia's *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 8.
18. See Lawrence J. Oliver and Gary Scharnhorst, "Charlotte Perkins Gilman v. Ambrose Bierce: The Literary Politics of Gender in Fin-de-Siècle California," *Journal of the West*, July 1993, 52-60.
19. Ibid., 53.
20. Ibid., 54.
21. Ibid., 53.
22. In his "Prattle column" in the 24 June 1894 edition of the *Examiner*, for example, Bierce made some disparaging remarks about Gilman's edition of verse, *In This Our World*, first published in 1893. Gilman noted in her diary entry for 29 June 1894 that she had "read Bierce's last Sunday abomination. That man ought not to go unwhipped."
23. "Newspapers and Democracy," *Forerunner*, December 1916, 316.

with Gilman's lifelong friend, Grace Ellery Channing. When a reporter from the *San Francisco Call* contacted Gilman at home and asked her to comment on the *Examiner* story, she quietly refused.[24] The following day, however, Gilman called upon an unlikely sympathizer – Mrs. Phebe Elizabeth Hearst, William's mother – to vent her anger over the story. Although Mrs. Hearst didn't know which reporter had written the "outrage," she was "much moved" by Gilman's visit and promised to look into it.[25]

In their biography, *The Hearsts*, Lindsay Chaney and Michael Cieply corroborate Gilman's version of the *Examiner's* methods of obtaining headline stories.[26] They wrote:

> The *Examiner* stopped at nothing in its zeal to create a sensation. At the behest of its frantic young publisher, the paper sent trainloads of artists and writers flying through the night to scoop its rivals on a story as routine as a hotel fire; it dispatched its reporters to traipse through the hills in quest of grizzly bears and gun-slinging fugitives; it escorted Sarah Bernhardt on a tour of the city's opium dens . . . all for the sake of a few column inches.[27]

Gilman's autobiography offers yet another example of the *Examiner's* unprincipled conduct. After an Oakland woman, a victim of domestic violence, shot her abusive husband as he was about to attack her with an ax, the *Examiner* sent a reporter, Winifred Black, to interview the woman in jail. The woman's lawyer had warned her not to comment on the case, but Black allegedly posed as a sympathetic ally and "told the poor, frightened, remorseful little woman that she was not a reporter, that she had come because her sister had once been in prison for the same offense."[28] Having won the woman's trust through lies and deception, Black managed to get her scoop, and the story, with all of its ghastly details, was published. And in another incident in which the wife of an acquaintance of Gilman's was brutally murdered, the grieving husband asked Gilman to speak at her funeral. When she arrived at the funeral home, "there stood like a row of vultures, reporters, ready to make the most of every detail and to make it all as hideous as they could – to keep up the story."[29] When the article appeared, Gilman was infuriated to discover that the reporters had accused her of thrusting herself into the limelight "for the sake of notoriety."[30]

Despite her repeated failure to cooperate with the press, or perhaps because of it, Gilman continued to find herself the subject of news stories in the *Examiner*. In June 1894, the *San Francisco Call* again sent a reporter to her home. After handing her a clipping of an *Examiner* story detailing Walter Stetson's remarriage to Grace Channing, the reporter waited for a reaction.

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24. *Diaries*, 4 March 1894.
25. *Diaries*, 5 March 1894.
26. Lindsay Chaney and Michael Cieply, *The Hearsts: Family and Empire* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981).
27. Ibid., 32.
28. *Living*, 145.
29. Ibid., 176.
30. Ibid.

Having already learned of the wedding in a letter from Walter and Grace, however, Gilman offered no response. The reporter persisted. "The *Call* sent me to see if you had anything to say on the subject," he said. "Do you think a self-respecting woman *would* have anything to say to a newspaper on such a subject?" she responded.[31] The reporter left without his story, and the *Call*, "at the time a decent newspaper," simply reprinted the *Examiner* story without additional commentary.[32]

Gilman's battle with Hearst continued even after her death by suicide in 1935,[33] when her daughter Katharine Stetson Chamberlin assumed her mother's cause. When Gilman's literary agent, Willis Kingsley Wing, attempted to serialize her posthumously published autobiography, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, in the Hearst-owned *Cosmopolitan* magazine, Chamberlin was incensed. To Wing she wrote that "no Hearst publications were eligible" for serialization. "Perhaps my mother failed to tell you her lifelong stand against all Hearst publications," she remarked. "Ther [sic] is quite a little in her book about it all," she continued.[34] And to Gilman's cousin and literary executor Lyman Beecher Stowe, Chamberlin complained, "Of course if [Mr. Wing] had had an offer from a monthly other than a Hearst publication, I would have gladly accepted," she wrote.[35] "And I really don't see how he could have known Mama without knowing her feeling for Hearst," she continued, implicitly questioning Wing's professional integrity. Although the serialization could have been potentially lucrative, Chamberlin shared her mother's values and was determined to respect her wishes.

After Gilman's experiences with Hearst-owned publications in the early 1890s, she resolved to uphold ethical standards in her own forays into newspaper writing. In the summer of 1894, she assumed the management of the *Impress*, a California literary weekly, previously published by the PCWPA as the *Bulletin*. Gilman hoped to make the *Impress* into a "good family weekly" which would be "varied and interesting,"[36] but the publication lasted for only twenty weeks. A "clean and handsome paper," judged by "a competent critic as the best ever published on the [west] coast,"[37] the *Impress* became a casualty of the public reaction against Gilman's unconventional lifestyle. According to her autobiography, the paper's demise was a result of the bias expressed by "the San Francisco mind" that found her reputation intolerable. Not only was Gilman a divorcée, but she was also branded an unnatural mother after relinquishing custody of her then nine-year-old daughter to Walter Stetson. Adding to the public condemnation was Gilman's decision to publish in the *Impress* a poem,

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31. Ibid., 167-68.
32. Ibid., 168.
33. On 17 August 1935, after battling breast cancer for three years, the seventy-five-year-old Gilman took her own life by inhaling choloroform fumes. She had long been an outspoken proponent of euthanasia.
34. Letter from Katharine Stetson Chamberlin to Willis Kingsley Wing, 30 August 1935, Beecher-Stowe Collection, folder 417, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. Quoted by permission.
35. Letter from Katharine Stetson Chamberlin to Lyman Beecher Stowe, 30 August 1935, Beecher-Stowe Collection folder 417, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College. Quoted by permission.
36. *Living*, 171, 177.
37. Ibid., 173.

"a beautiful poem, of a nobly religious tendency"[38] by Grace Channing Stetson, Walter Stetson's new bride. Embittered by the public outcry condemning her choices, Gilman left California a few months later and spent much of the next five years on the lecture circuit.

During that period, Gilman published *Women and Economics* (1898), the magnum opus of her long career. She won international fame for the book and numerous solicitations for journalistic contributions after it was published. It was only a matter of time, however, before Gilman found herself rejecting requests, as William Randolph Hearst acquired ownership of an ever-enlarging collection of popular publications. Initially, "there were ever so many who asked for my work," Gilman reported in her autobiography.[39] For instance, "James Brisbane Walker of the *Cosmopolitan*, before it became Hearst's *Cosmopolitan*, was more than cordial; Margaret Sangster of the *Bazaar*, before it became Hearst's *Bazaar*, was very kind; Mr. Towers of *Good Housekeeping*, before it became Hearst's *Good Housekeeping*, was very interested in my stuff," Gilman lamented .[40] She remained adamant, however, in her refusal to write for any Hearst publications. When she was approached by "a very nice young man" about writing for the *Cosmopolitan*,[41] Gilman had some difficulty convincing him that her rejection of his offer, for which she would have been well-compensated, was not merely the result of "some personal dislike" toward Hearst, but that it was his unscrupulous methods both in obtaining stories and in reporting them that she found intolerable. "My refusal was not based on my own experience alone," she insisted, "but on the well-known character of the Hearst papers and methods."[42]

When she launched the publication of the *Forerunner* in 1909, therefore, Gilman strove to educate her readers not only on social issues, but on matters of ethical import as well. The latter included her condemnation of the practice of yellow journalism. In numerous essays and commentaries published during the *Forerunner's* seven-year run, Gilman frequently took swipes at the very visible William Randolph Hearst, whose muckraking tactics helped to sell newspapers.

In a two-part essay titled "Newspapers and Democracy," published in the November and December 1916 issues of the *Forerunner*, Gilman affirmed the value of the press, writing that "no social function today [is] more important than The Press."[43] But "every social function," she continued, "is liable to its own excesses, perversions, and diseases," the popular press being no exception. Gilman featured several examples of the gross misuse of the press which made it subject to "tyranny," "corruption," and "falsehood." Likening the potential abuses of the newspaper editor to those of a "despotic monarch", Gilman recounted her own experience with Harry Todd of the *San Francisco Examiner*, and maintained that although "the tremendous power of the press is essential to its function and [needs] to be preserved, . . . it should be safeguarded at every point so that it might never be used by private malice or private greed."[44] But

38. Ibid.
39. *Living*, 302.
40. Ibid., 302-303.
41. Ibid., 303.
42. *Living*, 145.
43. "Newspapers and Democracy," *Forerunner*, November 1916, 300.
44. Ibid., 303.

perhaps the greater evil, she suggested, was in "the suppression, misstatement, falsification, and fabrication of 'the news.'" "The majority of our papers," she wrote, "are 'special pleaders'. . . . Instead of faithfully setting before the public facts in the case, that the public may be fairly informed and use its own judgment . . . [they] too often . . . [present] their own views, buttressed by selected facts, as seem most useful."[45]

In part two of the essay, Gilman entertained the question, "What makes an item newsworthy?" She charged that many contemporary editors not only had difficulty in discriminating "between fact and fiction" but that most of the newspapers "endeavor to furnish as an attraction [a] glowing list of accidents and crimes."[46] She wrote:

> These pages and pictures and floods of words about some murder, unsavory divorce case, or the like, are furnished *as entertainment*, to please the reader, to secure subscribers. The *news* involved is merely "At 12:30 last night, at 41 M[ain] Street, John Smith fatally shot his wife Mary." The "particulars" belong to the police gazette, to special study by criminologists. What the people need to know about Murder is how much of it there is among us, does it increase or decrease, how can it be prevented.
>
> There is no reason whatever why they should be given detailed information as to "where the body lay" – that is not news. "It interests them" say the papers, and so admit that they are misrepresenting the news in order to sell papers. News is not necessarily amusing; its value is quite aside from that quality. [47]

As the press grew, Gilman reasoned, it "succumbed to the abuses of power, as does the crown, the church, the army – any social function. It has never been safe to give any person or group of persons too much power," she concluded.[48] Again, some twenty-five years after first being subjected to his "abuse," the main target of Gilman's wrath was still William Randolph Hearst. "For one man to own and dominate a great paper or group of papers is more insidiously dangerous," she contended, "than to have him dominate railroads, churches, or armed men. Private ownership of public utilities is mischievous enough, as we are rapidly learning; but the press is in no true sense 'a business,' it is an educational function, like the school or college."[49]

In a short article appearing in the September 1914 issue of the *Forerunner*, Gilman was even more direct in her contempt for Hearst. Citing some of the apparent inconsistencies in Hearst's publicly stated position on the politically sensitive issue of war and peace, Gilman's commentary, titled "From a Hearst Newspaper," was riddled with sarcasm:

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45. Ibid.
46. "Newspapers and Democracy" (Part Two), *Forerunner*, December 1916, 314.
47. Ibid., 316.
48. Ibid., 315.
49. Ibid.

> I have received a telegram – a long night letter – full of windy words about the advancement of humanity, asking me to enroll my name as one of an International Committee to be gathered together in the interests of Universal Peace – reply by wire, paid by them.
>
> And who do you imagine is getting up this great Committee? What noble-spirited citizen, what power making for righteousness, what beneficent engine of civilization?
>
> The proposition comes from *The Chicago Examiner* – one of the chain of papers owned and managed by Mr. William R. Hearst!
>
> This man, whose papers have always flamed with frantic jingoism, who has used his enormous power to do all that was possible to promote the Spanish war, who has in every way fomented all our difficulties with Japan; who, but a few weeks since, openly tried to force on the war with Mexico, now takes the present opportunity to pose as a promoter of peace!
>
> Everyone is shocked at the Pan-European war. Everyone would like it stopped. Appeal then to the popular feeling and make credit for the beneficent Hearst newspapers as champions of human progress!
>
> I have not replied. It would be hardly fair to expect a Hearst paper to pay for my opinion of it.[50]

An outspoken proponent of free speech, the place for it, Gilman maintained, was exclusively on the *editorial* page of a newspaper or magazine. "In the news columns there should be no 'freedom' other than that required to furnish the news," and the presentation of that news should be consistent in all of the various papers.[51] Particularly important to Gilman was the right to personal privacy. "The importance to the public of a free press" she wrote, is "first, that the press may set forth facts necessary to be known; and second, that the press may be free to express opinion on the facts. But it is not in the least necessary, not in any way important or useful, for the public to be provided with the information as to how many buttons there may be on a great man's pajamas." [52]

Contributing to the proliferation of yellow journalism, Gilman argued, was the attendant desensitization of the reading public which had grown accustomed to "an ever lower standard of journalistic decency."[53] While she conceded "that even the worst of [the newspapers] do some good," that good could never balance "the evil they do."[54] Only when the reading public acknowledged the damage done by the yellow press, and ceased to support it, could a "legitimate press" emerge, she believed.[55] "We need to establish the evil

50. "From a Hearst newspaper," *Forerunner*, September 1914, 251.
51. "Newspapers and Democracy," *Forerunner*, December 1916, 315-16.
52. Ibid., 316.
53. Ibid., 318.
54. Ibid., 318.
55. Ibid., 317.

results, to show that the good could be accomplished without the evil, and then to take strong measures to protect society against this depraving influence."[56]

Gilman's sentiments were echoed by American journalist Lincoln Steffens (1866-1936), managing editor of *McClure's Magazine*. "There isn't room even for a list of good things Mr. Hearst has done or tried to do," he wrote.[57] Steffens added, however, "There isn't room either for a list of the bad, the small things he has done; the scandals he has published, the individuals he has made to suffer beyond their deserts. He has sent his reporters slumming among the rich; he has pandered to the curiosity about the vice and wickedness of wealth. His papers 'appealed to the people'; yes, to the 'best interest,' and to their worst," he wrote.

With the introduction of the *Forerunner*, Gilman intended to demonstrate that news and commentary could be reported in an informative and objective manner. Even though there were already a number of magazines in print that addressed themselves to issues of concern to women, such as Alice Stone Blackwell's suffrage publication, *The Woman's Journal* or the narrowly conceived and gender-specific monthlies such as the *Ladies Home Journal* and Hearst's *Good Housekeeping*, the *Forerunner* broke new ground. While the majority of the fifteen-hundred subscribers were women, Gilman insisted that the magazine was about "people, . . . It treat[s] all three phases of our existence, male, female, and human," she wrote.[58] Not only did the *Forerunner* advocate human rights, but it also became a vehicle through which Gilman could call for social reform. On the pages of the *Forerunner*, Gilman proselytized on topics ranging from venereal diseases and prostitution to the need for child labor laws and academic freedom. Every *Forerunner* was filled with candid discussions of topics affecting the quality of human life – the crucial need for economic and reproductive freedoms; pleas for safer and more affordable housing; calls for environmental awareness. The unique blend of feminism and socialism featured in the *Forerunner* was inextricably linked to Gilman's firm belief in the potential growth of humanity through productive thought and honest work.

In addition to essays on current social issues, the *Forerunner*, which sold for ten cents a copy or a dollar a year,[59] also boasted annually one complete novel, one nonfiction book, several short articles, a dozen or more poems, twelve short sermons, commentary on various news items, numerous book reviews, and twelve short stories. In an attempt to champion various causes, including the practice of ethical journalism, Gilman often used the *Forerunner* fiction to advance her arguments. In the April 1916 issue, for example, she included a short story, titled "His Excuse," to not only reflect her contempt for the disreputable reporters who distorted facts about her personal life on numerous occasions, but also to censure the abuses of freedom of speech, which she found wholly reprehensible.[60]

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56. Ibid., 318.
57. Lincoln Steffens, "Hearst, the Man of Mystery," *American Magazine*, November 1906, n.p.
58. *Forerunner*, November 1909, 32.
59. Ibid.
60. "His Excuse" appeared in *Forerunner*, April 1916, 87-88. Another example of Gilman's fictional treatment of the yellow press can be found in "An Unwilling

The central character in "His Excuse" is Norman Parker, a talented young reporter who "set forth boldly to face the apprenticeship for his Life['s] Work." Parker proved so competent, Gilman tells us, "that he was offered better pay to do similar work on one of the Hearst papers." The narrative continues:

> Parker was not in favor of this grade of journalism, but, he told himself, a man must not let his prejudices hinder his advancement. . . . Spurred by his editors, praised and well-paid for his successes, insensibly lowering his standards as his work required it convincing himself by easy arguments and the press of opinion all around him that what he did was essential to the profession – and so quite justifiable, he became a star reporter.[61]

It was precisely this brand of "star reporter" that Gilman found contemptible, and she relished the fact that while living in California in the early 1890s, she had "thirteen times . . . the pleasure of refusing them, and many times since, in more than one of Mr. Hearst's enlarging list of publications."[62]

While taking every opportunity to damn both the character of the Hearst empire and their reportorial methods, Gilman made certain that although freedom of expression was the mainspring of the *Forerunner*, the professionalism of the publication was never compromised and no single individual was defamed in any way. So critical was the issue of integrity, in fact, that despite the loss of revenue, Gilman refused to advertise products that she could not personally endorse.[63]

In her autobiography, Gilman recalled that the very mission of the *Forerunner* encountered considerable opposition because it departed so radically from conventional wisdom. "So general an attack," she wrote, "upon what we have long held incontrovertible must needs have met misunderstanding and opposition. If the world had been able to easily receive it then it would not have been necessary. The clear logic of the position, the reasoning which supported, made small impression on the average mind."[64] Yet the central "purpose" of the paper seemed innocuous enough; it strove to "stimulate thought; to arouse hope, courage and impatience; to offer practical suggestions and solutions, to voice strong assurance of better living, here [and] now . . . ."[65]

As the magazine drew to a close at the end of 1916, when Gilman finally conceded that the financial burden made it impossible to continue, she presented her readers with a retrospective synopsis of what she had set out to accomplish. Whether she was addressing dress reform, economic disparity between the genders, or the ongoing problem of yellow journalism, the common ideological denominator for Gilman was the power of each individual to effect change. "Our dawning social consciousness finds us bound, suffering, thwarted,

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Interview" in the April 1912 issue of the *Forerunner*, 85-89, later reprinted in the 29 March 1913 edition of the *Woman's Journal*, 98-99.

61. *Forerunner*, April 1916, 87-88.
62. *Living*, 144-45.
63. Ibid., 305.
64. Ibid., 310.
65. *Forerunner*, November 1909, 32.

crippled in many ways," she wrote in the November 1916 issue. "The more we see the possible joy of human living, the more painful become present conditions – if unchangeable. But they *are* changeable," she insisted.[66]

And change, of course, was what Charlotte Perkins Gilman believed was necessary in the press. Undoubtedly, Gilman's boycott against Hearst was costly both in terms of some much-needed financial security and in terms of reaching a potentially enormous reading audience with her ideas. But Gilman's principles were inexorable. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the details of her personal life were frequently printed in various publications, Gilman's condemnation of the yellow press was not simply a personal or self-serving reaction to the violation. Rather, she felt that the acceptance of the yellow press was an indignity against all of society that should not be tolerated by the reading public. Her plea for the practice of ethical journalism was intended, ultimately, to serve every human being. Locking horns with the very powerful William Randolph Hearst and developing her own magazine were just two of the means by which Charlotte Perkins Gilman hoped to transform American journalism. Unquestionably, she would be saddened by how little has changed some sixty years after her death.

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66. *Forerunner*, November 1916, 290.

The Jazz Rage: Carter G. Woodson's Culture War in the African-American Press

By Leonard Ray Teel

Cab Calloway's hip "Minnie the Moocher" and Depression-era jazz dives symbolized "evil" and a decline of respect for African-Americans, or so declared the race's self-appointed cultural czar, Carter G. Woodson. In 1933 Woodson praised Hitler for outlawing jazz and wished Hitler could round up jazzmen everywhere and "execute them as criminals."

In the fall of 1933, the African-American historian Dr. Carter G. Woodson published the most bizarre prescription for his race. In his role as a shaper of culture and history, he concluded that jazz had so corrupted African-Americans that it ought to be silenced. First, he would outlaw it; playing jazz should be made a crime. Second, and even more remarkable, was his prayer that all jazz players and promoters of all races be rounded up and put to death.

Was he serious? Yes, in the sense that he felt the moral justification for fire-and-brimstone measures. "Persons who are concerned with social progress, then must take steps to restrict jazz and stamp it out as an evil," Woodson declared in his syndicated column written in Paris while he was investigating how African-American jazzmen were faring. In neighboring Germany, Adolf Hitler had already banned jazz as a socially corrupting influence. Astonishingly, Woodson acknowledged that his own solution to silence jazz was inspired by Hitler.[1]

"Hitler, then, in spite of his otherwise questionable acts achieved well when he drove the jazz element from Germany," Woodson wrote. "There was nothing racial in this effort. Self-respecting Negroes are welcome in Germany. Hitler set a noble example in trying to preserve the good in civilization."

Further, Woodson prayed that Hitler have wider authority to expunge jazz. "Would to God that he had the power not to drive them ... [from] one

1. Carter G. Woodson, "Has Jazz Been a Help or a Hindrance to Racial Progress?" *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 18.

country into another but to round up all jazz promoters and performers of both races in Europe and America and execute them as criminals."[2]

Drastic action was necessary by 1933 largely because jazz had been glamorized by the media, Woodson believed. He blamed the African-American press, the same press that gave him a forum for his syndicated column and disseminated his schemes for popularizing African-American history.

These weekly urban newspapers had distorted reality, he believed, by continually featuring the lifestyles of African-American jazz musicians. This was especially true in accounts of the exploits of those who had gone to play in Europe. After more than a decade of media hype, Woodson lamented, "few Negroes share my attitude toward jazz." He had been:

> surprised to find our leading Negro newspapers and magazines playing up as great successes the men who carried jazz from 'You Street,' 'Harlem,' and 'State Street,' to the European dens of vice. Accounts of their thus giving a new thrill to European degenerates appeared from week to week as one would feature our ambassadorial representatives abroad. Highly educated Negroes going to Europe returned with glowing reports of the successful performance of such friends whom they visited there.[3]

To what extent did the press distort the economic, social, political, and aesthetic ramifications of jazz? If the press did glamorize jazz, thereby encouraging expatriation to Europe, was it guilty of social irresponsibility? Had the press stimulated African-Americans to join the "lost generation" abroad?[4]

Woodson's ultimate concern was the progress of African-Americans in U.S. society. Jazz, like a pied piper, had led away a generation, including its youth. It was as though the race had forgotten the prophecy of Booker T. Washington, who died in 1915 on the eve of the craze. Washington's principal legacy was the concept that African-Americans could define their place in U.S. society through education and hard work.

"Booker T. Washington understood this and, therefore, spent most of his time doing something constructive to make the Negro so efficient and desirable that no such force can be made effective against the Race," Woodson wrote in 1934.[5]

He evidently hoped that his reputation would exert some influence in shaping history. He certainly was no fringe radical. Indeed, by 1933 he was clearly an opinion leader and frequently played the role as a spokesman for

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2. Ibid. Hitler regarded jazz as "an expression of neurasthenia, debilitating to youth exposed freely to its down grade influence," in the words of one reporter. Instead, the Nazis emphasized classical music – Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms, and opera. "Hitler Frowns on Jazz," *Literary Digest*, 24 March 1934, 24.

3. Woodson, "Hindrance," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 18.

4. This study considers selected issues of four African-American newspapers – the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Amsterdam News*, and the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* between the years 1926 and 1934.

5. Carter G. Woodson, "Between Him and the Fire; Says Debt Enslaves More So Than Lynching," *Chicago Defender*, 6 January 1934, 11.

African-Americans. For a generation he had been a voice of reason, someone to be reckoned with.

After 1915, Woodson styled himself to some extent as Washington's successor. By force of personality and innovation, he shaped a career as the dominant figure in the development of African-American history. In 1916, he founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and established the *Journal of Negro History*. Soon after, he initiated Black History Week observances in schools and communities. With an eye to the next generation, he supervised the writing of history textbooks which recognized accomplishments by African-Americans. His own books included *The Negro in Our History*, *The Mis-education of the Negro* and *The Negro Professional Man*. By the 1930s Woodson was writing a column syndicated in the popular African-American weeklies. From this pulpit and with authority, he decreed that African-Americans should make wake up to their senses. As though he were a cultural czar, he decreed the antidote to jazz: classical music – refined, serious, respectable, classless.

By 1933, however, it was plain that jazz would not wither away. Indeed, it had secured a beachhead audience, displacing classical music to some extent among a new generation of students. Rather than dying, jazz seemed to be evolving, making a transition from impromptu improvisation to written arrangements.

Jazz had swept through the culture and left a legacy of names repeated so often they became living legends. These included Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Earl Hines, Sidney Bechet, Claude Hopkins, Ethel Waters, and Cab Calloway.

Their successes were featured in almost every issue of the African-American press. Stories reported their engagements and contracts, as when Ellington was scoring "box office triumphs" and "has become an exclusive Victor recording artist."[6] Miss Waters's career had taken her from a dishwasher to Harlem's famous Cotton Club to radio to Broadway; by 1934 she was reported to be earning $7,000 a week.[7]

By late 1933 the most popular African-American alive was Cab Calloway, the 25-year-old jazz bandleader and entertainer who held forth in Harlem nightclubs, on the NBC network radio, and on tours of the United States and Europe. An opinion poll among some four hundred African-American high school students in St. Louis ranked Calloway second only to Thomas Edison in name recognition; Calloway was far better known than Napoleon, Harriett Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, or Charles Lindbergh.[8]

Woodson might have included radio in his target sights. With radio, Calloway had hitched his star to a rocket. By 1933, some claimed he had eclipsed Duke Ellington as "king of radio jazz." In Cincinnati's Cotton Club, singer-dancer Bennie Pinkett eased onto the airwaves and announced the club's

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6. "Duke Ellington Records New Disc," *Chicago Defender*, 28 October 1933, 8.
7. "Ethel Waters Wins Laurels in New Show; Star of Palais Royal Floor Show in New York," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 10 February 1934, 14; "Ethel Waters at a Mere Trifle of $7,000 Per Week," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 24 February 1934, 13.
8. "Cab Calloway's Picture" (editorial), *Baltimore Afro-American*, 25 November 1933, 16.

programs twice nightly on station WFBE.[9] In 1932, the fast-growing NBC radio network was broadcasting from the Cotton Club for thirty minutes, three nights a week. That summer, listeners could tune in at 11:45 p.m. Mondays and at midnight Wednesdays and Fridays and hear Baron Lee and his Blue Rhythm Band. Cab Calloway, on tour for NBC, would be back in September.[10] In Chicago, Detroit's Howard Bunts and his Dixie Ramblers were playing five nights a week and were broadcast nightly on WMBC and WXYZ.[11]

As radio gave currency to the music itself, the African-American press gave more attention to the careers and lives of jazz celebrities. Calloway's career became the focus of photographs and stories after his band followed Ellington's at the Cotton Club in 1931.[12] The media net even included people associated with the stars. When Ellington's third cornetist, Little Freddie Jenkins, sent "his best regards" to his family and friends in Chicago, the *Chicago Defender* carried a story.[13] Stories were written about anyone close to Calloway – his sister, Blanche Calloway, and his bandsmen with their "queer nicknames" – Foots, Flat, Bunky, Deedlo, Cash, Slop, Fruit, and Place.[14] Another article cited a report in the white press, the *New York Daily News*, that the Calloway band and the Claude Hopkins band had eclipsed the white Ozzie Nelson band to become the "standards by which 'hot' bands are measured...with the irrepressible Cab leading the fiery procession."[15]

The tune which catapulted Calloway's career in 1932 was "Minnie the Moocher." In a sense Minnie and her shady boyfriend Smoky Joe represented exactly what Carter G. Woodson saw as wayward in jazz:

> Now here's the story
> About Minnie the Moocher.
> She was a lowdown hoochy-coocher;
> she was the roughest, toughest frail,
> but Minnie had a heart as big as a whale.

In advocating the criminalization of jazz, Woodson was articulating his heartfelt disgust not only for jazz, but for the values jazz perpetuated. Throughout the Jazz Age of the 1920s, few African-American elites accepted improvisational jazz as having any redeeming musical or social value. "Jazz at its worst is Negro music broken down" and its composers "have produced some horrible melodies which intelligent Negroes deplore," a contributor to Woodson's *Negro History Bulletin* concluded as late as 1939.[16]

Even those avant-garde African-American elites who might tolerate the playing of jazz or even admire strains from Duke Ellington could hardly condone

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9. Bessye Bearden, "Around New York," *Chicago Defender*, 27 August 1932, 9.
10. Walter Barnes Jr., "Hittin' the High Notes," *Chicago Defender*, 30 July 1932, 7.
11. "Radio Announcer," *Chicago Defender*, 21 October 1933, 8.
12. Jim Haskins, *The Cotton Club: A Pictorial and Social History of the Most Famous Symbol of the Jazz Era* (New York: Random House, 1977), 68-69.
13. "Duke Ellington's Musician Writes," *Chicago Defender*, 30 July 1932, 6.
14. "Cab's Bandmen Have Queer Nicknames," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 7 October 1933, 19.
15. *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 19.
16. "Negro History Week to Feature Musicians and Their Music," *Negro History Bulletin* 2 (February 1939): 34.

the lifestyles associated with jazz. Illicit drinking in speakeasies and night clubs, promiscuous women, dancing, eroticism, and related vices often involved Prohibition Era bootleggers and mobsters. Minnie the Moocher and Smoky Joe matched the description of characters Woodson wanted to put to death. "I do not seriously object to clean dancing," Woodson wrote, "but it does seem to me that the world can dance without jazz. The people danced beautifully before they ever heard of jazz."[17]

In the press, on radio, and in conversation, jazz had taken on another bizarre aspect. Now, fictional characters, born in lyrics, were taking on a glamorous life of their own. "Minnie has become almost as celebrated and popular as Cab himself," said one story out of New York. Through radio Calloway had made Minnie "one of the most famous 'girl friends' in the country....Although Minnie is rather wild and wicked, Cab hastens to point out that her unrefined dancing and her association with such a questionable character as 'Smoky Joe' are somewhat redeemed by her big heart and several other likeable human traits. Cab wouldn't want to make her all bad."[18]

Celebrity watching was a relatively new phenomenon in African-American society. Newspaper editors were happy to have celebrities of their own to chronicle, and the public seemed to appreciate it as well. Beginning in the 1920s, stories about jazz stars tended to be laudatory, with no sense of probing for the unknown. Editors capitalized on the exploits of entertainers who were finding a new way to make a living and seemed to be breaking some color barriers.

By the late 1920s, so many stories were being written about jazz and performers that editors began grouping them on designated pages. Here were found entertainment columns, stories and listings of radio programs and live performances. On its entertainment pages, the *Baltimore Afro-American* published the columns "Looking at the Stars" and "Chicago Nite Life." Here readers found an article by Duke Ellington's ex-wife, Edna, admitting that, "Well, yes, I am a music widow" and a story on what Louis Armstrong was doing in Chicago.[19] The *Norfolk Journal and Guide* grouped entertainment pages under the heading "Trailing the Stars – Radio – Screen – Stage." This is where fans found news of Duke Ellington's latest conquest. "Hollywood is up in the air over the presence of Duke Ellington and his Knights of Rhythm," noted a dispatch from the Associated Negro Press, quoting one Hollywood woman's wild abandon: "I've gone native and I don't care who knows it."[20]

The *Chicago Defender* titled its entertainment section "Stage-Music-Movies." There it published a regular column "Hittin' the High Notes" by Walter Barnes Jr., himself the bandleader of the Royal Creolians, and news stories such as "Duke Ellington Leads in Radio" and "Cab Calloway Band in South Carolina."[21] Stories about the success of Chicago jazzmen were naturals for the section. In the summer of 1932, Earl Hines, the reputed "Chicago King

17. Woodson, "Hindrance," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 18.
18. "'Minnie the Moocher' Is Seen in East," *Chicago Defender*, 30 July 1932, 6.
19. Ralph Matthews, "Looking at the Stars," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 21 October 1933, 18; Allan McMillan, "Chicago Nite Life," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 21 October 1933, 19.
20. "Trailing the Stars," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 10 March 1934, 13.
21. Walter Barnes Jr., "Hittin' the High Notes," *Chicago Defender*, 23 August 1932, 6.

of Jazz," took Connecticut by storm. "Earl Hines' piano playing, the band's jungle music and the singing of Billy Franklin are among the things Hartford raves about most."[22] But the pages also followed Harlem doings under a listing "Around New York."[23]

Barnes liked competition and some of his items communicated the sporting nature of jazz playoffs. In the summer of 1932 he reported a "three-way battle of jazz" in Danville, Illinois, where an African-American band, Walter Wardell and his Eleven Black Diamonds from San Antonio, Texas, "were the victors...against two white bands." A second three-way jazz battle in Augusta, Georgia, ended with Clarence Pickney and his Imperial Orchestra "declared the winners" over G. Fess Mitchell and his Cotton Choppers and A. Lee Simpkins' Augusta Nighthawks.[24]

The press frequently encouraged jazz, recognizing promising young musicians. After Barnes left column-writing in 1933, the *Defender* carried a new column called "The Orchestras." It was written by another entertainer, Jack Ellis, whom the *Defender* had recognized a year earlier as leader of a trendy "novelty band" in which "all sing with some few adding a dance step or two...making the thing more entertaining."[25] In turn, Ellis occasionally boosted promising musicians trying to make names for themselves after playing with famous bandleaders. These included "Eddie Alston, formerly with the Cab Calloway band" and William France, the "get-away" tenor and double sax player "formerly at the Cotton Club with Les Hite's and Louis Armstrong's band. We'll be on the lookout for you, Bill."[26]

But for all the success enjoyed by some jazzmen, there was a downside, provoked by the Depression. Many bands did not survive the economic drought, and many excellent musicians found themselves out of steady work. In Harlem, musicians accused police bands of taking away work and threatened legal action.[27]

The press occasionally served a socio-economic role, as a clearinghouse for jobs. So, in the summer of 1932, columnist Walter Barnes mentioned that "Preston Jackson, formerly with Louis Armstrong's orchestra, wants all his friends to know that he is back in the Windy City and would appreciate all jobs coming his way." Barnes was hopeful for "better times" in the fall season. "While investigating the theaters, ballrooms, etc., I found that there will be plenty of openings for first-class organized bands soon....My suggestion is to keep rehearsing and in shape for you may be among those who will find a job."[28]

If African-Americans thought Europe was any better, Carter G. Woodson urged them to take off their blinders. In Paris, Woodson found African-American musicians "stranded" and suffering from the decline of the jazz

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22. "Earl Hines' Band Takes Connecticut," *Chicago Defender*, 9 July 1932, 7.
23. Bearden, "Around New York," *Chicago Defender*, 27 August 1932, 9.
24. Barnes, "Hittin' High Notes," *Chicago Defender*, 30 July 1932 , 7.
25. "Novelty Banks Now the Thing, Writer Discovers on Rounds," *Chicago Defender*, 27 August 1932, 9.
26. Jack Ellis, "The Orchestras," *Chicago Defender*, 1 July 1933, 9.
27. "Harlem Musicians Accuse the Police Bands of Taking Work," *Chicago Defender*, 21 October 1933, 9.
28. Barnes, "Hittin' High Notes," *Chicago Defender*, 30 July 1932, 7.

craze. He talked with them, asking "these artists why they had come to Europe and had remained there." He heard various reasons:

> Several had dreamed of economic advantages, a few had come to have a good time, and a number had undertaken to solve the race problem by transplantation without providing against hunger in the near future. A much larger number came with the wave of jazz which swept over Europe after the World War.[29]

Those who had fled segregation in the United States had reason to think France was colorblind. The African-American press had made much of France's acceptance of African-Americans, particularly jazz players.

The most romanticized stories about African-Americans in Europe focused on their success with French women. "Jazz and Romance Go Hand and Hand in Paris," read a headline in the *Baltimore Afro-American* entertainment section just a month after Woodson's article. Editors posed the question, "Why do the beautiful French women fall in love with Harlem musicians?" In a display of photographs, two women, presumably French, gazed adoringly upon Noble Sissle's Famous Parisian Band, "the type that the women of Paris love."[30] The year before, one of Lucky Millinder's band, Arnold Pratt, created a stir when he "married a 22-year-old French blonde, who he met in Nice three weeks ago." When Millinder's band sailed back to the United States after nine weeks in Monte Carlo and Paris, Pratt "deserted" to "make a 'go' of it on this side."[31] Months later, the columnist "Street Wolf" reported that Pratt had moved on to play in Amsterdam and was "fine and doing nicely."[32]

France's acceptance of African-Americans had been publicized for years. Among the very first African-Americans to be received joyously were the musicians in the band of James Reese Europe, a lieutenant who led his Hellfighters Band in France during World War I and was persuaded to stay and play until 1919.

Paris and London were both eager for music and welcomed an increasing number of African-American musicians, among them clarinetist and sax player Sidney Bechet. In 1919, at age 22, he scored triumphs in London with the Southern Syncopated Orchestra, and in 1925 arrived in Paris. "It seems bizarre," wrote his biographer, "that Sidney Bechet had to travel to Europe to receive the sort of expert acclaim that was worthy of his vast talents."[33] In 1928, the Noble Sissle Band, playing at the Ambassadeurs in Paris, was "held over indefinitely

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29. Woodson, "Hindrance," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 18.
30. "Jazz and Romance Go Hand in Hand in Paris," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 11 November 1933, 18. Columnist J. A. Rogers reported noted that in France after World War I, women outnumbered men three to two. This, he said, accounted for more "frankness" in sexual matters. J. A. Rogers, "Sex: As Europe Accepts It," *Amsterdam News*, 2 September 1928, 6.
31. "Millinder's Band Ordered to Quit Paris Immediately," *Chicago Defender*, 28 October 1933, 8.
32. Street Wolf, "London, Paris – At Night," *Chicago Defender*, 13 January 1934, 9.
33. John Chilton, *Sidney Bechet: The Wizard of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 35-40.

due to the popularity of the band." Sissle's "bluebook" of autographed plaudits "is the talk of European social circles."[34]

The adulation abroad was all the more welcome in light of the caustic resistance to jazz in many parts of the United States. Opponents included leaders of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Mrs. Max Oberdorfer of Chicago declared that popular music had become "unspeakable....Ninety percent of it would not be allowed to go through the mails if it were literature."[35] Clergymen identified the Devil in the notes. In 1926, the pastor of New York's Calvary Baptist Church said, "Jazz, with its...appeal to the sensuous should be stamped out." In Cincinnati that year, the Salvation Army sued to prevent construction of a jazz palace next to one of its homes for girls where young people would be "subjected to the implanting of jazz emotions by such forced proximity."[36]

By 1933, some jazzmen had become major Continental legends. That summer, Duke Ellington made a successful tour of Europe, followed in the fall by Louis Armstrong. A story about Armstrong's tour predicted it "will clean up, so anxious are the fans in those countries to hear their idol in the flesh."[37] Early in 1934, the era's most famous jazz promoter, Irving Mills, who by then handled Ellington and Armstrong, was sailing for Europe to arrange a tour by Cab Calloway and the Cotton Club Band.[38]

African-American women also found respect in France. In 1925, the gorgeous Josephine Baker had arrived in Paris with the same "Black Revue" in which Bechet was playing; within months Baker left the group to win fame singing and dancing at the Folies Bergere. In 1932 the actress's intention to become a French citizen was highly publicized. She had been "won by the French people through their unprejudiced attitude toward all people regardless of color."[39] That same month, the *Defender*'s front page featured a photograph from Paris of a "beautiful Race girl" who was modeling for a "leading French designer." Her experience "shows the democratic spirit of the French people who always recognize beauty and merit wherever they find it."[40]

But there was a downside. If the press was irresponsible, it was in not featuring the negative aspects of the jazz craze as prominently as it highlighted the successes. In 1927, the *Amsterdam News* – which supported Prohibition and covered jazz the least – published one of the first evenhanded commentaries on the status of African-Americans in France. In it, the European traveler-columnist J. A. Rogers agreed that in Europe "color prejudice is as rare as it is plentiful in Georgia or Florida." "But here," he cautioned those about to

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34. "Sissle and Bank Will Remain at Ambassadeurs," *Amsterdam News*, 29 August 1928, 7; "Negro Entertainers in Europe," *Amsterdam News*, 2 September 1928, 6.
35. "Cut Out the Teas for Women Voters," *New York Times*, 19 June 1920, 23.
36. Monroe Berger, "Jazz: Resistance to the Diffusion of a Culture-Pattern," *Journal of Negro History* 32 (October 1947): 463.
37. "Louis Armstrong Splits With Manager; Both Admit to Break," *Chicago Defender*, 21 October 1933, 8.
38. "Calloway Booked for Trip Abroad; Irving Mills Also Plans to Assemble Chorus of Beautiful Sepia Dancers," *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, 17 February 1934, 13.
39. "Chooses France," *Chicago Defender*, 23 July 1932, 20; Chilton, *Bechet*, 73-77.
40. "French Mannequin," *Chicago Defender*, 16 July 1932, 1.

emigrate, "another problem faces the Negro, as any other immigrant, for that matter – a problem that is much sharper – the job."[41]

Rogers concluded that only musicians had fared well economically. "The jazz era created a vogue for the black musician and performer in Europe....These find themselves in a field all their own – a field in which their color is all in their favor." Indeed, by 1927, he said, the majority of African-Americans found in Europe were musicians and a few prize fighters.

What of the others? In "a keener struggle for existence," they had failed to adapt to a job market stagnated by a "surplus of labor [and] low wages." In his travels, Rogers said:

> Some of the most bitter and disappointed I have ever met are Negroes who have come to England or France thinking that because of the absence of color prejudice they would be able also to get the economic essentials [but] found instead...almost every hand seemed stretched to get or to take what they have...The American has been much maligned in this.[42]

Six years later the scene worsened, Woodson found. In 1933, he concluded that even African-American jazzmen had lost their niche. Jazz, Woodson wrote, "like any other vicious thrill, ran its course and ceased to offer the opportunities once dreamed of." In talking with "stranded members of the once popular jazz aggregations," he heard them

> complaining that Europeans do not like them now as much as they did years ago....Europeans, moreover, are now popularizing their own jazz; and they are employing Negroes from their colonies. Most of the "the boys"...have gone back home; and others will return as soon as they can find the means.

African-American jazz, he concluded, had run its course. "English pleasure centers [now] advertise their own jazz performers, and the Parisian cafes play up 'Hot French Jazz.' Their ardor for it, however, has considerably cooled off in recent years....Jazz has about had its day among thinking people."[43]

A new strain of racism seemed to be infecting Europeans, and, to its credit, the press reflected this in numerous stories. In the summer of 1933, it was front-page news back home when the great Duke Ellington and his band members were refused rooms at hotels occupied by American whites. A story in London's *Sunday Express* asked, "Is it possible for a Negro to find accommodation in a first class hotel in London?" Another reporter declared that the band "faced Jim Crow here in its meanest colors."[44]

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41. J. A. Rogers, "The American Negro in Paris," *Amsterdam News*, 14 September 1927, 14.
42. Ibid.
43. Woodson, "Hindrance," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 18.
44. "Duke Ellington Welcome in London Cafes; Not in Hotel," *Chicago Defender*, 1 July 1933, 8.

Writing about three months later, Woodson noted that one reason for this change of attitude was that "Negroes thus employed have not always behaved well on the continent. They have found too much pleasure among the vicious and the criminal classes."[45] The story on Ellington's being denied a room also blamed earlier African-Americans, specifically "the unpleasant incidents which marked the stay of a well-known company of actors....Englishmen are now going to great trouble to prove that they are well versed in the example of race prejudice set by their white American cousins, and are judging all Race folk by the few."[46] Indeed, in 1927, such incidents in London led the "better class of performers" to worry that the English would bar all African-Americans.[47]

Sidney Bechet was one of the jazzman who "have not always behaved well." In London in 1922, Bechet was charged with unlawfully assaulting a woman. Bechet pleaded innocent, alleging that the woman was a prostitute who "pushed me in a room and knocked me on a bed." He was found guilty, sentenced to fourteen days at hard labor at Brixton prison, and ordered deported. His appeal was denied, partly because his record showed two previous fines, and he was put on a ship to New York on 3 November 1922.[48]

His rowdiness in Paris in 1928 was even more remarkable because it was so public and injured innocent weekend nightclubbers in Montmartre. It was also an insight into the rivalries and disputes among African-American musicians. The *New York Times* story reprinted on the front page of the *Amsterdam News* was headlined "Jealous American Musicians Stage Gun Duel in Paris." Bechet and banjo player Mike McKendrick of Paducah, Kentucky, reportedly began arguing over which one had "the larger following," possibly after downing several drinks at the nightspot Bricktop's. But according to pianist Charlie Lewis, the two "were arguing about the harmonies on a number we had just played....Mike got his gun out. Sidney disappeared, then came back armed as well." Pianist Glover Comptom claimed that Bechet was offended when McKendrick remarked about Bechet's habit of not paying for a round of drinks. Guitarist Everett Barksdale believed they were arguing over a woman.[49]

What followed, Lewis said, was "like the scene of a fight straight out of a cowboy movie." In the night air, bullets flew and ricocheted. The *Times* story reported that one passerby, an Australian dancer, was shot twice in the chest, and a French woman on her way to work was shot in the side. Compton was hit in the leg. Bechet was grazed and said his stiff shirt collar saved him. Both musicians were convicted; Bechet was sentenced to fifteen months, but eventually was released in less than a year and apparently ordered to leave France.[50]

These manifestations of jazz underscored the importance of assaulting jazz as a menace to the race. The conclusion abroad and at home was simple for a man with vision: disown jazz. "It is said that the Negro created jazz. If he did

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45. Woodson, "Hindrance" *Baltimore Afro-American* , 14 October 1933, 18.
46. "Ellington," 1 July 1933.
47. "Better Class of Performers Abroad Fear England Will Attempt to Bar All," *Amsterdam News*, 7 September 1927, 13.
48. Chilton, *Bechet*, 53-54.
49. "Jealous American Musicians Stage Gun Duel in Paris," *Amsterdam News*, 26 December 1928, 1; Chilton, *Bechet*, 83-84.
50. Chilton, *Bechet*, 84; "Jealous American Musicians," 26 December 1928.

so he should be ashamed of it," Woodson wrote from Paris. Indeed, Woodson argued, nobody seemed to want credit for jazz. "We do not find many writers producing books to dispute with the Negro the origin of jazz as they are doing in the case of the spirituals....We cannot win the respect of the world unless we cease to make excuses for and stop defending our vicious classes." He wanted a moral crusade and a return to classical music. "Negroes must join in such a crusade."[51]

Woodson's crusade, of course, went nowhere. Americans are too diverse to be shackled by a cultural czar who dictates which activities should express the essence of a culture. When Woodson seemed to be aspiring to the position, outlawing jazz in favor of the classics, he was soon challenged. *Baltimore Afro-American* columnist Ralph Matthews commented that Woodson "stuck his historical nose into the wrong keyhole when he opened an attack on the jazz makers." Matthews printed a response from H. Hume Gibson, a musician in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He said Woodson "displayed a shocking lack of insight into the trend of modern times." Jazz "could no more be destroyed than was the desire for alcohol by prohibitory laws."[52]

The press continued to feature jazz in all its permutations. And Woodson and other elites continued to snipe. Music teachers battled jazz face-to-face in the foxholes with young pupils who preferred jazz to classical training. In 1934, one music teacher published his system for "carrying...pupils safely through the so-called 'jazz-craze' and converting them to classical music." He "overdosed" pupils on light jazz rhythms until they begged for relief in classical pieces.[53]

Many African-American scholars continued to ignore jazz or discount it. W.E.B. DuBois, in a 1939 book, *Black Folk Then and Now*, dismissed African-American music in one paragraph without mentioning jazz. Benjamin Brawley, writing in *The Negro Genius* (1937), noted that "strident" jazz originated in the new Northern "Negro slums" teeming with migrants from the South. Jazz, he said, satisfied the "popular demand for the exotic and exciting."

Given his influence as a shaper of history in more scholarly publishing venues, Woodson suppressed jazz in the *Journal of Negro History*. If he could not control the print media or the radio, he could at least prevent the legitimization of jazz in his own historical journals. For a generation, from 1916 to 1947, the *Journal* did not publish a single article on jazz or a single review of a book on jazz.

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51. Woodson, "Hindrance," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 14 October 1933, 18.
52. "Jazz: Musician Raps Carter Woodson's Intellectual Knuckles," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 17 November 1933, 18.
53. R. M. Goodbrod, "Conquering the Jazz Craze of Young Pianists," *Etude* 52 (February 1934), 82.

Research Notes

The Blue Pencil Gang

by Robert Spellman

Federal prosecution of some of the nation's most prominent journalists for criminal libel after publication of false stories about corruption in the decision to build the Panama Canal created a *cause celebre* in 1909-1910. One of the curiosities of the libels is that they originated with a group of information peddlers known as the Blue Pencil Gang.

Not much is known about the elusive gang, but it is identified by name in the *New York Times* and in federal court records. Its existence also is confirmed in the *Congressional Record* and in stories in the *New York World*.

On 28 January 1909, the Times reported that the gang's name came from the practice of its members of posing as journalists. Moreover, the *Times* said:

> the most successful manner of obtaining money was to get subscriptions from wealthy men whom they told that the 'New York newspapermen' or 'New York Press Club' needed money to get up some benefit or entertainment, or required a certain sum to organize a social club.[1]

In return for "large sums" that were "divided among the gang," the *Times* disclosed, the blackmailers suppressed embarrassing information about the men. An alternative approach was to claim the payments were needed for the support of indigent newspapermen. The *Times* said the gang had been involved in sensational blackmail cases in New York and other cities.[2]

The first of the libel stories was published in the *World* and alleged that an American syndicate reaped $36.5 million in profits when the United States purchased for $40 million the properties of the French companies that started construction of the canal.[3]

The stories appeared in the midst of the presidential contest between Republican William Howard Taft and Democrat William Jennings Bryan. They alleged that the syndicate included Douglas Robinson, brother-in-law of President Theodore Roosevelt and a New York City businessman, and Charles P. Taft, half-brother of the GOP nominee and publisher of the *Cincinnati Times-Star*.

Upon learning confidentially that the United States would build a waterway across Panama rather than Nicaragua, the stories claimed, the syndicate purchased the securities of the French companies. The profits were allegedly shared with the members of the Roosevelt administration who provided the confidential information.

Roosevelt launched unsuccessfully prosecutions for criminal libel against the *World*, its publisher, Joseph Pulitzer, and two of his editors. Also prosecuted were

1. *New York Times*, 28 January 1909.
2. Ibid.
3. *New York World*, 3 October 1908.

Delavan Smith, publisher of the *Indianapolis News*, and Charles R. Williams, its editor. The *News* was targeted because Roosevelt knew that Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks, disaffected because Taft received the GOP nomination, was the newspaper's secret owner.

William Nelson Cromwell, a wealthy New York lawyer who was a friend of Taft, was alleged to have masterminded the corrupt transaction. Cromwell had been the American counsel and lobbyist for the French canal companies.

One of the ironic aspects of the false Pamana tales was that the members of the Blue Pencil gang believed them to be true. Otherwise, they would not have spent money collecting the information and trying to peddle it.

The prosecutions continued after Taft took office. After they failed, the *World* conceded the allegations against Robinson and Charles P. Taft were false.

The *Times* and *World* identified the head of the gang as E.N. Engelman, who operated a private news agency out of his New York City home. Engelman was described as a former banker and manufacturer. Stories suggested that at least two of his associates were newspapermen.[4]

In tracing the origin of the libels, the *Times* said Henry L. Stimson, the U.S. attorney in Manhattan, had:

> learned that a member of the Blue Pencil Gang was sent off to France last Summer to investigate the Panama Canal story. Another member remained here. Upon the return of the man sent abroad, a story was written. It is said on good authority that such a story was submitted to the Democratic National Committee.[5]

The tale was offered to the Republican National Committee and to Cromwell. The price asked was $25,000.

The representative sent to France was Alexander S. Bacon, a Brooklyn lawyer and Tammany Hall stalwart. Despite the *Times* story, there is no evidence that Bacon was a member of the ring. Instead it appears that he merely received a fee for journeying to Paris and collecting what proved to be false information.

Bacon was a poor choice. Once an attorney for a sundicate promoting a Nicaragua canal, he was a conspiracy theorist and had long believed the decision to build across Panama had been rooted in corruption.

Bacon tapped into the resentment in Paris against the United States, which was completing an enterprise begun by Frenchmen. Many Frenchmen believed the United States purchased the French properties for a pittance. Tales abounded among French bankers that the United States was able to but the assets only because Americans had secretly purchased control of the French companies when their securities were considered almost worthless.

At a later date Bacon wrote that, "Mr. Cromwell and his Syndicate of Wall Street gamblers not only owned the (French companies), but they also controlled the Navy and the policy of the administration,

4. *New York Times*, 20 January 1909; *New York World* 3 and 5 October 1908.

5. *New York Times*, 28 January 1909.

which had entered into the conspiracy that swindled the Republic of Columbia and the peasantry of France for the benefit of Mr. Cromwell's clients."[6]

Bacon convinced the Blue Pencil Gang that his information was accurate. When the Democratic and Republican national committees refused to pay for the story, the gang approached Cromwell. The lawyer considered the offer to sell him information that he knew to be false an attempt at blackmail. He reported it as such to Manhattan District Attorney William Travers Jerome.

Apparently there was a leak from Jerome to the *World* of the allegations. William J. Curtis, a partner of Cromwell, said, "he (Jerome) was the only one in his office outside of his chief assistant who had the confidential information."[7] Inadvertently the leak was confirmed when Cromwell dispatched Jonas Whitley, his publicist, to the *World* to deny the underlying corruption allegations. Later, a federal prosecutor said:

> The truth of the whole thing is that these articles were offered for sale in New York City, first to the Republican Committee and then to the Democratic Committee... further that they were taken to Mr. Cromwell and an attempt made to levy blackmail. In some matter the article first came out in the New York *World*, and with it came the denial of Mr. Cromwell and the statement of this fact, that the purveyors of this story had been to him demanding $25,000 for suppressing its publicity.[8]

The activites of the gang were discussed by Rep. George Lovering, a Massachussetts Republican and friend of Cromwell, in remarks to the House of Representatives on 12 February 1909. The congressman said the pre-election approach was not the first time the gang had sought to peddle the Panama tale to Cromwell.

> For nearly two years these same villains had been pursuing Mr. William Nelson Cromwell with the expectation he would pay them a large sum of money – $5,000 to $25,000 – to have them suppressed. They were always met with the indignant reply that they might do what they pleased with their stories for they were lies.[9]

Lovering said the gang's "doings reveals a chapter in the history of blackmailing that is rare in the annals of crime" and alleged that some of its members were ex-convicts.

The *Times* reported that federal agents placed members of the gang under surveillance on October, 1908, after Cromwell reported the

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6. Alexander S. Bacon, *The Wooly Horse* (New York: privately published, 1909), 26.
7. William Curtis, *Memoirs* (Portland, Me.: Plosher Press, 1928), 100.
8. Louis B. Ewbank, *The Indianapolis News Panama Libel Case* (Indianapolis: Fulmer-Cornelius, 1909) 111.
9. *Congressional Record*, house, 60th Congress, 2nd Session, 12 February 1909, 2270.

blackmail attempt to the New York district attorney. [10] Later, Engelman and other gang members were called before the grand jury that indicted the *World* and its editors for criminal libel.[11]

Mention of the Blue Pencil Gang outside newspaper stories and public records of the Panama libels cannot be found.

Any possibility of imprisonment of gang members for extortion apparently collapsed when the federal effort to convict the *World* and *Indianapolis News* and their principals failed.

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The Newark Public Library: Unexpected Haven for Media Historians

by E.M. Palmegiano

The public library is a well established institution in the United States. Often burdened by political, cultural, and fiscal baggage, it is nonetheless usually perceived as an intellectual resource for the current community. However, older holdings of a library are likewise valuable. They provide not only research material but also evidence for the history of the community itself. Such is true of the Newark, New Jersey, Public Library collection of nineteenth-century British magazines.

Newark is commonly regarded by the contemporary national press as a city typifying urbanism at its worst. Yet, this largest metropolis in the state has superb sets of Victorian periodicals. The acquisition of these volumes indicates at least wealth and perhaps a sense of internationalism among the populace prior to World War I when most of the serials were purchased. For a historian of Americana, these works might easily document a social passage. For me, a historian of the British press living outside of Britain, Newark makes primary sources readily available. Unlike in some research libraries, use in Newark is free, and service is rapid. Couple these factors with a recently refurbished reading room, access to computer technology, and a knowledgeable and helpful staff, and one's investigations become pleasant and profitable.

Newark has a wide range of British journals. Although a few date from the eighteenth century, such as the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, central for my purposes are the ones in The *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*. This *Index*, widely held as the benchmark for some of the most important British publications from 1824 to 1900, lists forty titles. Newark has thirty, which are indicated below. Of the remainder, three are only obtainable in the British Library, London and one in the Boston Athenaeum. The Newark Library not only owns virtually complete files, many on microfilm, but also follows those wonderful reconfigurations so frequent among Victorian papers. For example, in the 1830s, one of the several *London Reviews* circulating in the nineteenth century merged with the *Westminster Review*, a long running and prominent offering. The initial issues of the

10. *New York Times*, 28 January 1909.
11. *New York Times*, 20 January 1909.

London Review were subsequently, and therefore not chronologically, incorporated as later numbers of the joint venture. Hence, they are frequently missing from shelves. Not so in Newark.

In addition to its *Wellesley* serials, the Library has several captions from *Poole's Index*. Although not so prestigious as the *Wellesley*, *Poole's* is the more catholic catalog, which Newark's collection mirrors. From the *Argosy* to the *Zoist*, *Poole's* items are available in Newark. Some, such as the *Saturday Review* and the *Eclectic Review* are of a quality to match those in the *Wellesley Index*. In addition, *Poole's* cites many serials of significance to specialists, namely Charles Dickens' *All the Year Round* and *Household Words* and William Howitt's *Journal*, useful for students of the working classes. These too can be found in Newark.

Within the spectrum of the *Poole's* holdings, one class is worthy of special mention for reasons of depth and perspective. The magazines covering what might be called social improvement constitute a particularly strong component of Newark's archives. There are the low-priced, such as Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine*, James Hogg's *Instructor*, and William and Robert Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*. In addition to a variety of trivial, exotic, or practical information, these conveyed appropriate behavior to presumably poor but receptive readers. Complementing these organs are the more costly, quasi-religious ones that preached to the classes above worlers about the need for and derivative benefits of helping the masses fit into a social hierarchy designed by others. Papers in this second category might emphasize the positive outcomes of assistance, as did *Good Words* and *Once A Week*, or the negative circumstances requiring it, as did *Meliora*. What this kind of press says about social control in nineteenth-century Britain certainly bears on 1994 reanalysis of the Victorians; equally, the acquisition and subsequent maintenance of ameliorative journals by Newark might give rise to interesting questions, if not answers, to students of both past and contemporary U.S. culture.

Given the riches of the Newark Library, it is underutilized outside New Jersey. (Newark is closer to Connecticut, not to mention New York, than it is to New Jersey's capital.) The reason, I think, is that the Library was omitted from the original *Union List of Serials*, the standard reference for locating periodicals in the United States. Meanwhile, I continue to mine this vein (three books so far). To serve my constituency so well seriously undermines the preferred media description of the city that supports this facility.

Wellesley Index Periodicals in the Newark Public Library

Bentley's Miscellany, 1837-1868
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 1824-1900
The British and Foreign Review, 1835-1844
The British Quarterly Review, 1845-1886
The Contemporary Review, 1866-1900
The Cornhill Magazine, 1860-1900
The Dark Blue, 1871- 1873
The Dublin Review, 1836-1900
The Dublin University Magazine, 1833-1880 (partial)
The Edinburgh Review, 1802-1900
The Foreign Quarterly Review, 1827-1846

The Fortnightly Review, 1865-1900
Fraser's Magazine, 1830-1882
The London Quarterly Review, 1853-1900
Longman's Magazine, 1859-1900
Macmillan's Magazine, 1859-1900
The Modern Review, 1880-1884
The National Review, 1855-1865
The National Review, 1883-1900
The New Monthly Magazine, 1821-1844
The New Review, 1889-1897
The Nineteenth Century, 1877-1900
The North British Review, 1844-1871
The Prospective Review, 1845-1900
The Quarterly Review, 1824-1900
Saint Pauls, 1867-1874
The Scottish Review, 1882-1900
Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, 1832-1855
Temple Bar, 1860-1900
The Westminster Review, 1824-1900

The author is a professor in the history department, Saint Peter's College, Jersey City.

American Journalism Book Reviews

Thomas Connery, University of St. Thomas, Editor

366 ANDERSON, ROB, ROBERT DARDENNE, AND GEORGE M. KILLENBERG. *The Conversation Of Journalism: Communication, Community, And News*

367 BAKER, C. EDWIN. *Advertising and a Democratic Press*

369 BRENNAN, PATRICK H. *Reporting the Nation's Business: Press-Government Relations during the Liberal Years, 1935-1957*

370 CUTLIP, SCOTT M. *The Unseen Power: Public Relations, A History*

372 DIAMOND, EDWIN. *Behind the* Times: *Inside the* New York Times

373 HARTMAN, JOHN K. *The* USA Today *Way: A Look at the National Newspaper's First Decade (1982-1992)*

374 LEWIS, PETER M. AND JERRY BOOTH. *The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial, and Community Radio*

375 McCHESNEY, ROBERT W. *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935*

376 MUELLER, JOHN. *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War*

378 PIERCE, ROBERT N. *A Sacred Trust: Nelson Poynter and the* St. Petersburg Times

379 REEVES, JIMMIE L. AND RICHARD CAMPBELL. *Cracked Coverage: Television News, the Anti-Cocaine Crusade, and the Reagan Legacy*

380 ROEDER, GEORGE H. JR. *The Censored War: Visual Experience During World War Two*

382 SIMPSON, CHRISTOPHER. *Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945-1960*

383 STREITMATTER, RODGER. *Raising Her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History*

384 THALER, PAUL. *The Watchful Eye: American Justice in the Age of the Television Trial*

385 TROTTA, LIZ. *Fight for Air: In the Trenches with Television News*

386 URICCHIO, WILLIAM AND ROBERTA E. PEARSON. *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films*

388 SHORT TAKES... *Howard Interviews Stalin: How the AP, UP, and TASS Smashed the International News Cartel... Microfilm Edition, Agricultural Leaders Collection*

Rob Anderson, Robert Dardenne, and George M. Killenberg, ***The Conversation of Journalism: Communication, Community, and News.*** Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1994. 206 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

In their classic *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson affirm that metaphors are not mere figures of speech but ways of thinking, ways of doing, ways of living. Metaphors for news then are ways of thinking about the news, ways of doing the news, ways of living the news. Students of journalism history have seen the implications of metaphor enacted within a century-long debate over how to conceive of the news.

What is the best metaphor for news? Once upon a time there seemed to be a loosely agreed upon answer: News was to be the information conduit necessary for democracy. This answer, if it ever really was an answer, long ago unraveled with the stagnation of American democracy and the increasing irrelevance of its news.

With the demise of the information metaphor, the field has been thrown open to a myriad of metaphors: news as entertainment, news as common sense, news as drama, news as myth. Each metaphor has provided its own way of living the news; none has succeeded in capturing the imagination of the public or of journalists.

The book title announces its metaphor: news as conversation, as a public forum for dialogue on issues of common concern to a democracy. The authors – Rob Anderson of Saint Louis University, Robert Dardenne and George M. Killenberg, both of the University of South Florida at St. Petersburg – concede the metaphor breaks no new conceptual ground. Indeed, they provide a history of the metaphor of news as conversation, a history founded upon the work of John Dewey and George Herbert Mead.

Synthesis is the aim of the authors. They explain and explore the work on news as conversation and then place this work alongside another ongoing, parallel discussion of community, the public and the news.

The gentle juxtaposition of the two familiar literatures yields interesting results. The book, well written, unfolds elegantly, naturally. Grounded in professional as well as philosophical scholarship, the book nicely extends that work in pursuit of its goal – a new role for news in social life.

Some surprising arguments emerge. One chapter is devoted to the listening role of journalism. It's a well-crafted idea, perfectly situated within the conversation metaphor: Journalists can no longer afford to carry on one-way conversations with the public.

The book is also well served by John J. Pauly's gloomy, graceful foreword. Pauly makes too clear the sad inadequacies of news as information and provides ample justification for the authors' search for a new metaphor for news.

This book adds a thoughtful voice to an important conversation, as journalists, critics, and the public strive to arrive at new metaphors to live by.

Jack Lule, Lehigh University

C. Edwin Baker, ***Advertising and a Democratic Press***. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993. 216 pp. Cloth, $24.95.

The history of American journalism and mass communication research (JMCR) may show the 1990s to have been a turning point. Until then, JMCR was dominated by the limited effects model. Whether it be television violence, children's television, tobacco advertising or political advertising, many studies concluded that the media have limited effects. While historical, critical, and cultural approaches challenged the limited effects model in the 1970s and 1980s, studies conducted during the 1990s from outside the field of journalism and mass communication – often by medical doctors – began to show that media have powerful effects.

In yet another area, advertising's effect on the quality and content of the press has long been discussed, but some advertising textbooks still claim there is little evidence that advertisers or advertising affect the media.

A new book from outside the journalism and mass communication field finds advertising to be responsible for the decline in both the number and the quality of newspapers in the United States. *Advertising and a Democratic Press*, by C. Edwin Baker, a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania, challenges Americans to legislate against advertising's negative influences. Political partisanship is characteristic of the press whose decline Baker most laments. He believes this was the root of the popular appeal of the early American press, and from a legal standpoint, the rationale for its constitutional protection.

In the first two chapters, Baker conducts a thorough literature review of the history of the decline of U.S. newspapers and their readership. He also reviews many studies of newspaper competition, most of which examined, albeit inconclusively, whether newspapers improve under competitive conditions.

Using historical and economic analyses, Baker focuses on what he considers the key shift in newspaper financing and its effects. As late as the last decade of the nineteenth century, readers were the major source of revenue for newspapers. Starting in the 1890s, advertising dollars became the press's most important revenue source. Newspapers used in the increased profits from advertising to subsidize their production costs, lowering the price of the paper and driving out its competitors. The resulting bland, inoffensive, advertising-supported newspapers even killed larger circulation political newspapers, whose less affluent readers were unattractive to advertisers. Baker has developed policies he believes will slow, if not throw this decline into reverse, by subsidizing newspapers whose costs are largely met by readers rather than advertisers.

In chapter three, Baker notes that the historical shift to advertising-dominated revenue newspapers was contemporary with declining U.S. newspaper readership. He contends that when advertising money became the largest proportion of total revenues, newspaper publishers began to show more concern for the product they sell to advertisers than the one they sell readers. As publishers became less interested in what readers paid for – the quality of the press and its traditional partisan political coverage – readership declined and advertising censorship, including newspaper self-censorship, ensued. Baker also links the decline of public participation in politics to these changes in the press.

In chapter four, "convinced that advertising results in censorship, skews content, contributes to inequality, and impairs media competition," Baker examines a number of policy proposals for reducing such effects. He examines other countries' advertising policies and regulations to find a regulatory policy that would eliminate advertising's negative effects without greatly affecting its informational, economic, and social benefits. He settles on a Tax-Advertising/Subsidize-Readers (TA-SR) Proposal.

The intent of the TA-SR Proposal is "to reduce the influence of advertising on editorial content and to increase the newspapers' responsiveness to readers," (p.85). According to Baker, "This change should reduce advertisers' power to censor and could also stimulate greater competition as content diversity becomes increasingly valuable as a response to a readers' preferences," (p.85). By taxing advertising revenue and rewarding (proportionally) high circulation revenue newspaper with subsidies, Baker believes that publishers will return their attention to readers' needs and interests, resulting in less advertiser influence.

Assuming a national advertising/circulation revenue split of roughly 75/25 percent respectively, Baker's proposal means that if advertising revenues were taxed by, say, ten percent, and the money redistributed as a subsidy based on a paper's circulation revenues, revenue from advertisers would be reduced ten percent while revenue and reemphasizing circulation would rise thirty percent. Baker believes that deemphasizing advertising revenue and reemphasizing circulation will encourage editors to produce quality editorial material which will increase readership and generate more revenue.

The appendix presents the mathematics for Baker's multi-variable model, examining TA-SR's implications. It shows differential effects among newspapers, depending on the proportion of revenues they receive from advertising versus circulation. Newspapers with large advertising revenues compared to circulation revenues will carry the heaviest tax burden, and the model predicts that their cover prices will rise. When this happens (assuming price/demand elasticity), such papers will either lose readers or improve their content. Subsidies to high circulation revenue newspapers should cause cover price reductions. A falling price should increase circulation and fund quality content.

If it is not ignored, Baker's proposal is likely to be attacked by the newspaper industry. Unfortunately, few legislators will have the courage to take on the proposal and risk the media's wrath. Baker, though, is already thinking about the legal issues involved in such a tax. Chapter five addresses the constitutional questions raised by a taxed-based regulation of the press.

The book anticipates and addresses many potential criticisms of the TA-SR model. A few others come to mind:

— Because papers with high proportional circulation revenue are often popular papers, such as the British tabloids, why should high circulation revenue be necessarily equated with higher quality papers?

— What is the distribution scheme for subsidies? Are taxes re-distributed within a market or on a national basis?

— Abstractly, the model does seem to stimulate competition and encourage quality, but wouldn't the model work best in countries where newspaper competition remains more viable than in the United States? In other words, wouldn't this model have been better implemented in 1920 than today?

In conclusion, Baker has developed a radical policy for regulating the negative effects of advertising on the press. Embarrassingly, this critical work comes from outside the JMCR field, revealing much about the preponderance of administrative (and lack of critical) research conducted in schools of journalism and mass communication. Could it be that , as in the self-censoring newspapers Baker critiques, our educational and research agenda has been distorted by the introduction of advertising, public relations, and journalism management courses? They draw students and pay the bills, but are their aims commensurate with the ideals and purposes of the fourth estate? The fact that much important research critical of the media is being conducted outside our field perhaps implies such a critique.

Robert L. Craig, St. Thomas University

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Patrick H. Brennan, ***Reporting the Nation's Business: Press-Government Relations during the Liberal Years, 1935-1957***. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. 250 pp. Cloth, $45.

The subject of press-government relations has always been a delicate one, especially in the age of electronic reporting. Politicians in general have regarded reporters at best as a suspicious lot, and, at worst, co-conspirators with members of the opposing camp. Both Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew were not reluctant to blame policy failures (those beyond Watergate) on recalcitrant media people.

In that respect, the Canadian tradition parallels that of the United States. The failure of John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservative government in 1963 was blamed on a media establishment that the Prime Minister felt was too ingrained with the philosophy and well-being of the opposition Liberal party. In this case, according to evidence mounted in Patrick H. Brennan's comprehensive study, the Prime Minister's suspicions were well-grounded. Although most of the press gallery, both full-time members and associates, had tired of the Liberal government when Diefenbaker defeated it in 1957, Brennan argues that few had surrendered their long time adherence to both big "L" and little "l" liberal policies.

Brennan's short but comprehensive study advances the argument that the federal Liberal Party, the senior levels of the bureaucracy and the myriad of reporters covering the government scene in Ottawa combined to give Canadian voters a singular view of the emergence of the Canadian state between 1935-1957.

It is within the relationships of the press to the Liberal Party agenda to stay in power and maintain a strong central government that the book succeeds brilliantly. Brennan avoids the trap of describing the support the Liberal Party obtained from the majority of the press gallery as a conspiracy. The author notes, almost in a detached frame of mind, that the editors and

reporters who covered the Ottawa scene firmly believed that the Liberal Party and their civil service best represented the aspirations of the Canadian people. They were also convinced that the Conservative party, under the leadership of John Bracken and George Dew were no more than closet reactionaries who did not understand the basic, nonpartisan nature of the Canadian democracy, and above all, did not understand the dreams of its French-speaking minority.

The Brennan study above all, is very readable. The author moves from sentence to sentence, paragraph to paragraph, and page to page with a flowing ease that makes the book hard to put down.

Brennan focuses his work on the activities of a small group of influential reporters and editors who were fortunate enough to be employed by major media firms in the country. In this respect the study is somewhat restrictive, and Brennan's decision to limit the work to only English-speaking figures is a major oversight. The absence of French-speaking opinion, and there was lots of it during this period, fails to show the interplay between the government, civil service, and the media in one-third of the country. The fact that MacKenzie King survived the conscription crisis with only superficial wounds demands that French-language presses not be ignored. Nonetheless, in Brennan's defense, it must be noted that he devotes an inordinate amount of space to the feeling that Blair Fraser of *McLean's Magazine* had for Quebec political life and public opinion. This does compensate somewhat, but not wholly, for the absence of characters at Montreal's *La Presse* and *Le Devoir*.

On the whole, the study is a valuable edition to North American press history and should find its way into courses of study in history, political science, and journalism. For American readers, unfortunately, the text assumes some intimate knowledge of Canadian politics which may leave readers hanging. For example, the reasons for the long Liberal legacy are assumed, not explained. However, for a comprehensive, intelligent, and readable account of a specific period of press-government relationships, this book is worth the time one might spend on it.

David R. Spencer, Graduate School of Journalism,
University of Western Ontario

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Scott M. Cutlip, ***The Unseen Power: Public Relations, A History.*** Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994. 807 pp.

In reviewing my copious notes after reading Cutlip's book, I have an overwhelming appreciation for a magnificent piece of research. Cutlip's achievement affirms his status as a scholar who has maintained unusual vision and appreciation for the field of public relations.

The size of the book, more than 800 pages, is overpowering at first. However, the prologue explains the five sections totaling twenty-three chapters. He provides the necessary background to show how the road through the history of personalities will be traveled and where the roadsigns are placed. A useful table serves as a guide for the reader.

Part I defines the theory of public relations and public relations decision making; Part II explains the process of public relations research, issue development, and measurement; Part III develops the personalities and achievements of those important to public relations, and is the longest section;

Part IV describes the internal and external environments that influence how public relations people work; Part V explains how to examine and evaluate the success and failure of public relations practices.

The impressive array of bibliographic material at the end of each chapter, the details from conversations, quotations from letters and file materials, reviews of historical periods and company records will provide countless resources for scholars.

Although this book will be read by graduate students, particularly those in professional programs, and by undergraduates in upper division journalism and mass communication courses, business and management students will find much that is useful as well. Both present and future public relations practitioners would benefit from reading this book to gain insight into the profession's culture.

Cutlip provides details on the social, political, economic, and governmental changes affecting society, and consequently, the public relations industry. He carefully outlines the importance of each person who played a major role in public relations' development, setting them against the social, political and historical backdrop of their periods, showing how they reflected the qualities of their backgrounds and their times.

Perceptiveness regarding human characteristics is evident in Cutlip's description of the exploits, successes, and excesses of George F. Parker, Ivy Lee, Edward L. Bernays, John W. Hill, Carl Byoir, Earl Newsom, Ben Sonnenberg, and other pioneers of the profession.

Also introduced are less familiar individuals who contributed to the success of public relations: John Price Jones, who led management strike-breaking efforts; Harry Bruno, an aviation lover; R.H. Wilder and K.L. Buell, who formed an early publicity agency; Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, who made a fortune assisting the Ku Klux Klan; and Clem Whitaker and Leone Baker, who reshaped American politics as political consultants.

Although Cutlip documents much success and development, he also reminds readers that there have been many bumps in the road and that public relations has a long way to go.

A reader can select chapters or periods or specific careers covered by Cutlip, but such selective use runs the risk of missing important pieces of the narrative, including Cutlip's declarations regarding the purpose and practice of public relations. For instance: "Bringing public relations purpose and respect is the challenge for the successors to Ivy Lee, Pendleton Dudley, William Baldwin III, Harry Bruno, Earl Newsom, and other pioneers who built this vocation that is in transition to becoming a profession."

Some might quibble over the book's length, distracting typos, and the lack of pictures, but overall Cutlip has produced a rewarding work.

John M. Butler, University of Northern Iowa

Edwin Diamond, ***Behind the Times: Inside the New York Times***. New York: Villard Books, 1994. 437 pp. Cloth, $24.

Back in 1978, when the *New York Times* introduced the daily special sections that transformed the "Paper of Record" into the "new" *New York Times*, editor A.M. Rosenthal clashed with the business gurus over the focus of the section for Tuesdays. Rosenthal wanted science and health. The business side wanted fashion. In the true Rosenthal style, he fired off a few memos that outlined his position to the paper's top executives and then waited for an opportunity to break the impasse. It came that summer when the newspaper shut down for eighty-eight days during a strike. Rosenthal spent those idle hours crafting his vision of a science section. Then, he pushed the section past business executives, who clearly were preoccupied by strike negotiations, as a new feature to attract readers when the *Times* resumed publication.

Rosenthal, according to Edwin Diamond's new book, *Behind the Times: Inside the New York Times*, fought hard for the Science Times because he felt that the special sections sorely needed a serious *Times*-like subject to balance the recipes, decorating advice, and entertainment features that filled the other days. "What we select as the topics for Tuesday will affect not only Tuesday, but the totality of the image of the paper," one Rosenthal memo predicted.

Diamond, *New York* magazine's media critic, relies heavily on Rosenthal's memos, which have been stored in the newspaper's archives, in crafting the story of the *New York Times* during the last three decades. Diamond picks up where Gay Talese's *The Kingdom and the Power* left off in 1969 and takes the reader into the inner workings of *The Times*.

Diamond's book traces the slow, subtle change of *The Times* from the "Paper of Record" full of obituaries, texts of speeches and bureaucratic pomp to an opinionated, attractive package designed to woo the next generation of newspaper readers.

Unfortunately, Edwin Diamond is no Gay Talese. Many of his anecdotes have been told before and the book lacks a cohesive purpose. In reporting classroom lingo, this book cries out for a "nut graf." While the anecdotal approach entertains, the book lacks purpose. The reader mulls, again and again, Where is he going with this? Where is he taking me?

Even the title deceives. *Behind the Times* does indeed deliver an inside look at the nation's most revered newspaper. Diamond conducted scores of interviews during his five years of research. But the double entendre title leads the reader to believe that Diamond's thesis is to demonstrate how the newspaper lagged behind technology and how its "present uncertain state" will affect its status into the next century. Untrue. In fact, Diamond asserts that "[t]he modern *Times* shrewdly understood its niche in the contemporary marketplace."

With that noted, all media mavens will enjoy Diamond's tale of the slow, exacting way the *Times* evolved from a staid two-section newspaper. Diamond describes how the idea of the Op-Ed Page (said to be the most well-dressed section in the paper today) languished for more than ten years; he discusses how the newspaper has shifted its coverage away from "highbrow" interests to woo a new readership interested in personalities and rock.

Diamond, however, misses the mark on more than a few occasions. In describing the hunt for a successor to A.M. Rosenthal, Diamond states that

potential candidates from outside were excluded because tradition demanded that the editor be on staff. Indeed, he even mentions but discards the name Eugene Roberts, former editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and a late professor at the University of Maryland. In fact, Roberts was named this year to the position of managing editor. So much for *Times* traditions, although the newspaper did note when it announced the new hire that it was the first key appointment from outside since 1904.

While this book clearly is not important history, *Behind the Times* is a very good read for anyone interested in journalism. If you loved *The Kingdom and the Power*, then you'll like this one. A word of caution, however; when it was reviewed in *The Times*' Book Review on 30 January 1994, former *Times* staffer Tom Goldstein, now journalism dean of the University of California-Berkeley, asserted that the book was riddled with inaccuracies. Diamond erred, Goldstein asserted, in naming the colleges several reporters attended and also in the career path of one executive after the *Times*. "It is possible for an author to miss some facts and get the story right. Of course, it is also possible to get all the facts right and miss the story. Mr. Diamond has missed the facts and most of the story," Goldstein warned.

Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, Seton Hall University

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John K. Hartman, *The* USA Today *Way: A Candid Look at the National Newspaper's First Decade (1982-1992)*. Bowling Green, Ohio: John K. Hartman, 1992. 218 pp. Paper, $30.

John Hartman's book on *USA Today*'s first decade isn't many things. It's not an insider's look at Gannett's national newspaper. It's not a scholarly work; it's devoid of any theoretical premises and evidences no systematic, methodological approach to data collection. It's not a historical account of the newspaper's early years, and lacks substantive interviews with a wide array of experts and contains few examples of documents that might expand on various issues. And it's not a journalist's balanced look at a modern-day, trend-setting newspaper.

What it is, is a rather ill-defined, subjective look at the nation's latest national newspaper. The result is not, "A candid look at the national newspaper's first decade," as the title states. Instead, Hartman seems to see his book as a soapbox from which to laud his own previous research articles. Simply stated, his theme seems to be that daily newspapers, with the exception of *USA Today*, need to be more like television if they are to attract younger readers of the television generation.

Hartman is disdainful of anyone who disagrees with a young-readers newspaper formula that is long on bold, colorful graphics and short on words. Thus, he takes repeated shots at the *Philadelphia Inquirer, New York Times* managing editor Eugene Roberts, and the Poynter Institute for Media Studies president and managing director Robert Haiman – institutions and individuals who do not share his view.

In fact, the author appears to have little regard not only for those who disagree with his own frequently stated opinions, but he also quickly recounts the names of those who did not grant him interviews for this book, making them

objects of particular scorn. And none is scorned more than *USA Today* founder Allen Neuharth.

Hartman's book is replete with first-hand asides, admonitions to the reader, and references to his own previous academic research. As early as page 2 is the bold-faced, capitalized paragraph: "WARNING: THIS BOOK COULD BE HAZARDOUS TO THOSE WHO ARE OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE JOURNALISM PROFESSION AND THE NEWSPAPER AND COMMUNICATION INDUSTRIES. READ AT YOUR OWN PERIL."

Various points are repeated throughout the book. For example, the reader finds repeated accounts of *The National Sports Daily*, *USA Today*'s fifth anniversary celebration, and the *Detroit News*. It's unclear whether such repetition reflects the desire of the author to drive home his points, or whether the book has been illogically constructed and/or poorly edited.

Finally, one wishes Hartman had provided more substantiation for many of his assertions.

William A. Babcock, University of Minnesota

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Peter M. Lewis and Jerry Booth, ***The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial, and Community Radio***. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990. 245 pp. Paper, $14.95.

When radio and its history are studied, scholars largely use it to illustrate how a media industry evolves when eclipsed by a newer technology, in this case, television. British scholars Peter Lewis and Jerry Booth argue that, like the American networks that all but abandoned radio in favor of television after World War II, media scholars have made radio an invisible medium by assigning it a "small place in media history."

In *The Invisible Medium: Public, Commercial and Community Radio*, Lewis and Booth set out to examine how a "cluster of founding myths" that characterize and shape particular political systems are reflected in such national radio policies and their related industries. To accomplish this, the authors compare United States, European, and Third World broadcast models, providing a larger context for what they call "alternative interpretations – of history, of current policies and of alternative practice of radio." More fundamentally, the authors through this book attempt to bring "attention to the importance of radio within current debates on communication policy."

The authors make a powerful argument for the need to pay more attention to how radio industries developed around the world adhering to one of three models: the free market, the public service, and community role models. Specifically, they point to the wave of official challenges to assumptions about radio in the context of "communication policy" in the 1980s, especially in England under the Thatcher government and in the United States under the Reagan administration. In both cases, the largely successful efforts to deregulate radio were based largely on the "myths" at the core of the free market model.

In addition to setting off an alarm about the importance of radio and the need to examine it more closely in the context of contemporary communications policy debates, *The Invisible Medium* provides a concise historical overview of radio that well serves any reader with an interest in the history of broadcasting.

In particular, scholars who focus on broadcast-related policies and policy-making will find the analysis in this volume illuminating. The discussion and review of "community radio" in North America and Europe provide a good introduction to a rarely touched on aspect of radio. And while the book focuses largely on radio in the United States and Britain, substantial sections on Italy, France, Australia, and Canada round out a review of radio in the Western, developed world. To the extent that the authors can be criticized, it is for their relatively brief treatment of radio in the developing world, where radio clearly is considered an important tool for national development.

From a practical standpoint, the book is an excellent first-stop for finding other sources of a comparative nature. It provides ample documentation that will benefit scholars who specialize in broadcasting; the book also includes an extremely useful set of "Historical Narratives" or time-line narratives that will benefit readers unfamiliar with radio history. These narratives are brief but adequate histories of the radio industries and policies of the United States and Britain from the late nineteenth century through the 1980s.

Robert K. Stewart, Ohio University

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Robert W. McChesney, ***Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935.*** New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. 393 pp. Cloth, $45.

This volume brings together McChesney's research over the last few years and for those who have followed that published literature, the book holds no surprises. The book, however, is an important addition to the growing body of literature on early broadcasting, enriching and enlarging the work of Louise Benjamin, Sally Bedell Smith, Elaine Prostak, Donald Godfry, and others.

McChesney's thesis is that commercial radio did not "naturally" evolve as the nation's dominate medium but rather resulted only after commercial interests defeated the spirited lobbying of the broadcast reform movement. McChesney is right in his claim that this chapter of broadcast history has been underrated in favor of an historiography that suggests commercial radio best represented the American democratic spirit.

It is only recently that research has indicated how commercial radio interests of the 1920s used the examples of the utility companies that, under trust-busting attack at the turn of the century, confused the boundaries between public and private concerns. Such positioning allowed the privately owned utilities to shape a persona of public service and led to the granting of lightly supervised monopolies. The utilities, however, were only the most successful of the spate of public service image building that stretched from banks to department stores. Seen in this context, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover's call in the decade of the 1920s for radio regulation to serve "the public interest" seems less a call for the expression of the voices of a nation than a strategy that gave an edge to the commercial interests.

McChesney, an assistant professor of journalism and mass communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, says this did not happen without a fight. The book, concentrating on that opposition, takes as its starting point General Order 40 and its role in establishing an advertising-

dominated medium. The response to the rapidly emerging commercial shape of the medium was quick. McChesney writes, "Almost as quickly, a coherent and organized opposition to commercial broadcasting emerged in the United States." Leading the charge were the Payne Fund, the National Committee on Education on Radio, and H.O. Davis' campaign in the *Ventura Free Press*. The movement also included labor, civic organizations, Paulist fathers, intellectual leaders, and some congressional support – altogether a group that was no fringe group of ineffectual intellectuals.

But even with wide ranging support, the effort to defeat commercial radio failed. McChesney gives no single answer for the failure. Not all groups worked well together; the nation's law community opposed the reformers; separate deals divided the opposition as when labor's WCFL struck a secret deal with NBC; congressional support dwindled in the face of legislators who found commercial radio offered political advantage; the "free speech" campaign of the commercial broadcasters took the teeth out of the newspapers' opposition; newspapers' ownership of radio offered profit; and finally, reformers were unable to enlist Franklin Roosevelt to the cause – a point that would seem to deserve more examination that McChesney provides.

McChesney's emphasis is on process rather than evaluation. That emphasis on the moves of the chessboard comes at the expense of a broader interpretation For example, while McChesney describes the diversity of the reformers' venues, he fails to take into account general American popular taste. No matter how various the reformers, the group still did not include representatives of those American listeners who were more likely to want a dance band on Saturday night than a lecture on Shakespeare, God, or the labor movement. The commercial radio interests, for all their profit motives and skill at public relations and political manipulation, held what some might consider the essential card.

McChesney is strongest in his detailed and intimate knowledge of the reform campaign. While the detail, indeed, does not make the book a good read, (learning the acronyms, sometimes three to four to a sentence, is like learning a new language), the volume is an important and necessary addition to the history of early broadcasting.

Patricia Bradley, Temple University

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John Mueller, ***Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 379 pp. Paper, $17.96.

This book provides a compendium of poll results from the Persian Gulf War. Mueller, a political scientist from the University of Rochester, presents 289 tables of opinion data from the Gallup, ABC/*Washington Post*, CBS/*New York Times*, NBC/*Wall Street Journal*, *Time*/CNN, and other opinion polls. In the process, he addresses a variety of issues concerning public opinion, mass media, and public policy.

Mueller acknowledges that commercial polling agencies are often more interested in producing fodder for news bites than providing a systematic knowledge base. However, the sheer volume of poll data available yields some useful information. Mueller likens his role to that of an archaeologist sifting through the rubble of historical fragments.

The first half of the book is devoted to commentary on the broad array of data that comprise the second half. Putting the tables together rather than integrating them into the text is frustrating to readers who attempt to follow the text from start to finish. As such, this book is more accessible to those who use it as a reference to answer specific questions.

Mueller divides his analysis of poll data chronologically into three sections: before, during, and after the war, extending his analysis to policy implications and consequences for the 1992 election.

Mueller concludes that in the prewar period, there was very little change in opinions within partisan ranks. Furthermore, Mueller argues that, contrary to popular wisdom that credits President Bush with engineering a moral consensus, support for the war was based, not on moral grounds, but on the belief that war was inevitable.

As part of his analysis, Mueller examines the "rally-round-the-flag" effect. He argues that the success of initial stages of the war (enhanced by the media's transmission belt approach to covering military briefings), corresponded not only to optimism about the war's outcome, but also to positive evaluations of Bush and to broader optimism about the United States and its economic health. As one might expect, the rally effect dissipated – especially once the war ended– support for the war decreased, and Bush's popularity took an "unprecedented" tumble.

Mueller's rally effect discussion is indicative of both the strengths and limitations of this book. He does a much better job of demonstrating the rally effect than explaining why it occurs. This book contributes copious descriptions of public opinion trends; however, it does little to test underlying theories of public opinion or to provide detailed interpretations of opinion dynamics.

Mueller makes his most valuable contribution by providing historical context. He compares public opinion surrounding the Gulf War to the Vietnam War, the Korean War, World War II, and even the War of 1812. In addition, the plight of George Bush in the war's aftermath is compared to other modern presidents.

Ultimately, Mueller makes some serious charges against the pollsters. He claims that the pollsters, faced with the rather stagnant opinions that characterized the prewar period, became desperate to provide good copy for their news organization clients. He asserts that they attempted to create stories by altering the wording of questions, and by ignoring stagnant items and reporting the few that changed.

Readers will find that many of the questions that Mueller raises have already been addressed elsewhere. However, they will also appreciate the fact that Mueller provides a handy reference by bringing together an immense amount of data.

Douglas M. McLeod, University of Delaware

Robert N. Pierce, ***A Sacred Trust: Nelson Poynter and the St. Petersburg Times***. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993. 409 pp. Cloth, $34.95.

Here, at last, comes the explanation to the beguiling question as to how and why such a successful and acclaimed newspaper as the *St. Petersburg Times*, widely acknowledged to be one of the nation's best, could have emerged in a sleepy little town in Florida.

The answer lies in the idealistic vision of Nelson Poynter, who took over his father's newspaper after World War II and prodded its editors and executives into a pioneering role in depth reporting, editing innovations, and technological advances that have been widely accepted as industry standards. And taking that a step further, Poynter established the institution that bears his name – the Modern Media Institute (since renamed the Poynter Institute for Media Studies) – as a means of introducing higher standards in journalism. Since its first seminars in 1974 scores of journalism educators and journalists have attended its classes with the aid of generous grants.

Robert N. Pierce's account of Poynter covers far more territory than one might imagine, and does so in an engaging and rewarding style. *A Sacred Trust* will be a valuable source book for those who teach journalism history; it provides an intriguing analysis of a modern publisher and his role in advancing not only the interests of the industry but also that of his community.

Before settling down and assuming command of his father's newspaper, Poynter studied economics at Indiana University and earned a master's degree in the subject at Yale; became best pals with Ernie Pyle; took over as the whiz-kid advertising director of Scripps-Howard's *Washington Daily News* at the age of twenty-seven; found himself in over his head as editor of Scripp-Howard's *Columbus Citizen* and got himself fired; helped Ralph Ingersoll very substantially with his dream for the liberal and adless newspaper *PM* (and, in fact, was the one who persuaded Ingersoll to launch the paper without advertisements); served in Hollywood during World War II as a coordinator of government films, suggesting patriotic themes for movies; established with his second wife, Henrietta (who gave the Voice of America its name), the *Congressional Quarterly* as a non-partisan repository of factual information about affairs in the nation's capital; and – rather incredibly – gained credit for having pushed Florida's orange growers into establishing the frozen juice industry. All that aside from his work with the *St. Petersburg Times*.

Upon Poynter's death in 1978, the *Times* of London described him as "one of the most remarkable of American newspaper proprietors" even though he lived in "an unremarkable town." On the other hand, Florida's Governor Fuller Warren, in a letter to the Federal Communication Commission, called Poynter emotionally unstable and "a man of radical and erratic tendencies." In short, with his restless ways and his rather ordinary countenance, Poynter was quite an unusual package. Had he lived in the nineteenth century world rather than the faceless twentieth century newspaper publishing world, it is probable that Poynter's name would be uttered in the same breath with those of the two Bennetts, Pulitzer, Hearst, Dana, and Ochs.

While he was not himself an accomplished writer or editor, Poynter was far ahead of others in understanding the functions and promise of newspaper journalism. A restless, peripatetic man, Poynter challenged his executives with

his ideas and provided for them the necessary tools to obtain the results. On the editorial side of the ledger, he insisted upon and obtained in-depth reporting, not just in public affairs but in business and religion as well, creating a group of enterprise reporters and giving them the time and freedom to probe more deeply into public affairs. The newspaper's first Pulitzer Prize came as a result of a series in 1964 on the Florida Turnpike Authority. Such a passion for thoroughness brought to the newspaper for two consecutive years the Associated Press Managing Editors' award for the nation's best sports section – this in a small city with no professional teams of its own. Poynter began dabbling with cold-type possibilities shortly after World War II, and in 1954 the *Times* became the nation's first to use photocomposition. The newspaper also pioneered in the use of color photography.

Just a few months after the 1947 Hutchins Commission issued its manifesto on the responsibilities of a free press, Poynter released his own "Standards of Ownership" as a guide for those who would oversee such a "sacred trust" as a newspaper. In it he echoed the Commission's far-reaching standards and added a dozed or more so interesting ones of his own that were far more immediate and practical in nature.

Pierce used a substantial number of primary sources in writing this biography, including especially the Nelson Poynter Collection at the University of South Florida, records of the *Times*, and numerous interviews with those who knew and worked with Poynter.

Darwin Payne, Southern Methodist University

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Jimmie L. Reeves and Richard Campbell, ***Cracked Coverage: Television News, the Anti-Cocaine Crusade, and the Reagan Legacy***. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994. 330 pp. Cloth, $59.95. Paper, $19.95.

It would be easy, given its title, to characterize this book as merely an analysis of reporting on the "war on drugs." It is much, much more than that. Reeves and Campbell have woven together a critical inquiry of journalism scholarship, social history, cultural studies, and television news into a complex and rich tapestry worthy of repeated reading.

The book organizes coverage of the drug war into three phases, each characterized by a narrative type. In the first, cocaine is a "glamour" drug that "trickles down" to middle-class America. In the second, that direction is reversed, as cocaine becomes coded by race and class, and in turn, threatens middle-class America not as a drug per se, but as catalyst for violence and chaos. In the third phase coverage is self-reflexive (to an extent) and critical.

A couple of threads are present throughout *Cracked Coverage* and make it a most valuable work. Reeves and Campbell use James Carey's ideas about ritual communication to argue that journalistic coverage of the war on drugs was part of several modern rituals during the 1980s. As they show, it was particularly tied to politics and campaigning, to surveillance, and to discipline. Their ability to tie Carey's ideas together with Foucault's thoughts on surveillance, therapy, and discipline via dialogic analysis makes this book most useful and interesting. It is, ultimately, a particularly penetrating case study in the intersection of news and society.

Another thread is the authors' criticism of journalism and mass communication scholarship embedded in mainstream social science. For instance, early on reeves and Campbell do more than suggest that paradigm like "value-neutral agenda-setting research (are)far from neutral in ... application to the media's construction of the drug problem." The authors claim that competing news studies, ones that find evidence of right-wing bias and ones that find left-leaning bias, coexist because journalists were not reporting on a single "reality" that defined the drug war, but rather on multiple realities set forth by multiple definers.

To their credit, Reeves and Campbell successfully defend this argument not only by examining the deep structure of the news but the deep social structure of the Reagan era. Indeed, their analysis of Reaganism in chapter four stands as one of the most penetrating insights into the last decade. Consequently, *Cracked Coverage* provides subtle yet deep understanding of the complex relationships between power, money, class, politics, gender, and race. Along with Larry Grossberg's *We Gotta Get Out of This Place*, this book stands as a seminal social history of the 1980s.

Journalism scholars will be most interested in chapter three, in which the authors link ideas about journalistic narrative to ideas about surveillance. For them, "Journalists ... play a central role in the social construction of reason and nonsense, of normal and abnormal." They are able to back up such a claim in relation to the drug war, particularly as class and race divisions were very, very visible in its television coverage.

Taken as a whole, *Cracked Coverage* is a powerful condensation and realization of much of what mass communication scholarship has promised. it will be of interest to a variety of audiences, from students to journalists, sociologists to psychologists, mass communication scholars to television critics, and provides an important new jumping-off point for debate and discourse about the New Right and the media.

Steve Jones, University of Tulsa

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George H. Roeder Jr., ***The Censored War: Visual Experience During World War Two***. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. 189 pp. Cloth, $30.

During World War II, a file of photographs referred to as the "Chamber of Horrors," was kept deep within the Pentagon. Not until late in the war were any of the images released to the public. Although some of the shots seem innocuous to our post-Vietnam sensibilities, most were pictures of American soldiers, dead or dying, with grievous wounds, or gone mad from the unendurable stresses of battle. They were thought by government censors to be either too vivid for homefront Americans in their depiction of war – or they were potentially detrimental to the war effort.

This collection becomes a symbol in *The Censored War* for the U.S. government's effort to absolutely control the content and flow of war information to the public. From an exhaustive search of the record (the National Archives as well as other repositories of World War II materials), George Roeder has clearly drawn a picture of how the U.S. government – with support from public and private organizations – "made systematic and far-reaching efforts to shape the visual experience of Americans" during the war.

Government censors, as well as the media, assumed that visual images had great power to sway public attitudes regarding the war. They believed that "visual images were more likely to be comprehended and remembered by a much larger audience than written material and therefore had to be handled with great care." In addition, they thought visual images should be handled with care because they had greater impact on children and illiterate adults. Thus, they kept tighter restrictions on images than on words. From a pragmatic standpoint, it was also easier to screen photo materials brought from the battlefield, than words carried in writers' heads.

Roeder addresses how images were systematically released or held back by censors because of their perceived potential impact on such issues as the Japanese-American internment, race relations in the military, and the German extermination camps. The intent to filter war information led to a delicate dance by government officials along constantly shifting lines to create a clear distinction between us and them, good and bad. For example, images were carefully selected to communicate that when the enemy won, it was only because they far outnumbered Allied forces. When Americans won a battle, however, it was always by overcoming the odds against them. The enemy was militaristic, but the Americans went to war reluctantly; when aroused, however, they were invincible.

This polarized way of seeing and understanding the war was promoted by the government to inspire and maintain support for the conflict. The result of this information campaign by war's end was that Americans had a strict up or down, good or bad, us or them view of the world. Roeder explains that this imagistic message caused Americans to feel betrayed by the Soviets after the war when their behavior conflicted with what the U. S. leaders expected and wanted them to do.

Roeder doesn't stop with World War II in his discussion of the control of war imagery. In one of the more fascinating discussions of the book, he suggests that photographic coverage of the Korean War, and then the Vietnam War, derived from the point of openness and graphic depiction of suffering which had evolved by the end of World War II. Most American photographers covering the Korean War, for example, had cut their battle coverage eye teeth on World War II, and they were accustomed to the decreased level of censorship by 1944 and 1945. "... (T)he less restrictive practices in place by the end of World War II became the starting point for the Korean conflict. Images of destruction and American death appeared early in the war, as did such previously taboo images as American soldiers crying."

Did this polarized view of the world contribute to the atmosphere which accepted the McCarthy hearing and fed the Cold War mentality? Roeder, of course, does not make that claim, as provocative as it is. But he does commend such individuals as Margaret Bourke-White and Carl Mydans who made efforts to bring some truth to the visual depiction of war. Their courage to broaden American awareness increased the likelihood that Americans would act knowingly and therefore perhaps more wisely.

The book, at $30, is priced high for use as a supplemental text in a course. But the information on this aspect of journalism history, the eighty-nine

black-and-white images offered as examples and the bibliography of sources for research on World War II visuals make it a valuable resource for scholars.

Patsy G. Watkins, University of Arkansas

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Christopher Simpson, ***Science of Coercion: Communication Research and Psychological Warfare, 1945-1960***. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. 204 pp. Cloth, $29.95.

Simpson provides an invaluable service in *Science of Coercion* by carefully documenting relationships between communication research and clandestine U.S. military operation from 1945 to 1960. Relying upon documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and recollections of those involved as well as other types of sources, Simpson works systematically through the institutionalization of psychological warfare by the U.S. government and the mutual dependence between those institutions and communication research. Almost half the book is taken up with an appendix, an extensive bibliographic essay, and notes supporting each claim.

The term "psychological warfare" is itself problematic. While the phrase first appeared in English in a 1941 text on the Nazi use of propaganda (the Germans called it *Weltanschaaungskrieg*, or "world warfare"), American use of the term far extended its meaning. At the very beginning of the Cold War, the U.S. government set up two different streams of activity. On its public face the government established a public diplomacy program, including the Voice of America, scholarly exchanges, cultural centers, and media activities, based on the justification that "truth is our weapon."

Secretly, however, the government simultaneously required that propaganda operations must be supplemented by covert psychological operations. Because the determination as to whether or not a particular effort is psychological depends not on the tool used but on its effect upon the receiver, psychological warfare includes violence: assassination, subversion, involvement in underground resistance movements, kidnappings, and so forth. Thus the term itself became a euphemism for clandestine operations, and its intended meaning varied widely with the political sophistication of the user.

It is the point of Simpson's books that among the most sophisticated users of the term were many of the primary players in the field of communication research. Much of the work of Wilbur Schramm is, for example, according to Simpson still unavailable because it is classified. Relationships of the government and degree of knowledge of clandestine operations were varied, but the military continued to influence mass communication research after the war through funding a review of the editorial board of *Public Opinion Quarterly* shows that almost everyone was financially dependent on the government), through the systematic discreditation of critical research and theory, and through the establishment of institutions like the National Opinion Research Center.

Simpson identifies three features of the relationship between communication research and the government between 1945 and 1960: psychological warfare was the applied form of mass communication theory; a great deal of mass communication research was supported by the government;

and while the government didn't directly determine what would be said, it did so indirectly by determining who would say it.

The implication of this history are, as the author points out, difficult to face. But he also suggests that acknowledgment of this history should provide a useful stimulus for reexamination of the relationship between the social sciences and specific governmental practices. In a period in which information flows are of increasing importance to the military (today under the additional rubric of confidence- and security-building measures in addition to psychological warfare), such a reconsideration is particularly important.

Sandra Braman, University of Illinois

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Rodger Streitmatter, ***Raising Her Voice: African-American Women Journalists Who Changed History***. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1994. 216 pp. Cloth, $30. Paper, $14.59.

Too often and for too many years historians have ignored the voices of many men and women who played a significant role in the development of journalism. Thus, the title of Rodger Streitmatter's contribution to journalism history is extremely appropriate, and the value of the book becomes clear to the reader from the opening pages.

In his introduction, Streitmatter addresses the minimal attention journalism historians have given to African-American women, and he points out possible reasons why these women continued to be overlooked in most standard history books. Primarily, it is because historians considered the women to be long-suffering victims who passively submitted to oppression and prejudice and thus occupied unimportant roles in the evolution of the press and American society. Streitmatter endeavors to disprove that premise and illustrate how the women were anything but passive.

The book examines the lives of eleven African-American women journalists who defied racial and gender restraints to speak out during major events and turning points throughout American history: from Maria W. Stewart, a widowed schoolteacher and lecturer in the 1830s, to Charlayne Hunter-Gault, a broadcast news journalist of the 1990s.

Through the lives of the women, spanning 160 years, readers provided with the ideal opportunity to understand how the role of a reporter for the black press became intricately intertwined with the history of black America – a role significantly different from that of a white mainstream press reporter. As with many individuals working in the African-American press, the women were leaders and some of the most important voices in their communities. Streitmatter depicts them as defiant and independent individuals willing to risk their reputations and their lives to aid their race and to break new ground in the journalism profession for those women who would come later.

However, the chapters that are most beneficial to readers are not the ones about the lives of these women, but, rather, are the ones Streitmatter includes as an introduction and a conclusion. In the introduction, Streitmatter strives to provide a historical context for the experiences of these women, establishing the relevant point that themes and conditions prevalent in the history of white American women are not necessarily valid when examining the

lives of women of African descent. African-American women, Streitmatter argues, must be studied in the context of their own unique ethnic history and judged accordingly.

He also addresses the historian's pervasive question: Why should I care about the lives of eleven African-American women? He answers: "It is hoped that, through the pages of this book, future generations of scholars and students, unlike those of past generations, will learn that black women journalists have been active participants in the life of this country."

On a similar note, the concluding chapter attempts to synthesize why these women became journalists, how they beat the odds against them, and how they differed from other journalists. From this chapter we learn that these women were not driven by one particular motive or agenda, but their actions were determined by a variety of factors and concerns, ranging from racial reform to women's rights.

Streitmatter readily admits that his book is not an attempt at a definitive study of African-American women journalists. However, it provides insight into the true identities of these eleven women, offering a glimpse of the characteristics that defined African-American women's contributions to journalism in America.

Bernell E. Tripp, University of Florida

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Paul Thaler, ***The Watchful Eye: American Justice in the Age of the Television Trial.*** New York: Praeger, 1994. 264 pp. Cloth, $55.

With "news" coverage of the O.J. Simpson tragedy setting new standards for media overkill and sensationalism, fresh insights into the enduring tensions between the First Amendment rights of the press and the Sixth Amendment rights of defendants in high profile criminal trials would be welcomed. Unfortunately, Paul Thaler's *The Watchful Eye* does little to advance our understanding of this important issue.

Since colonial times concerned observers of and participants in the criminal justice system have decried the tendency of newspapers and, in the twentieth century, broadcast media to publish sensational accounts of criminal proceedings. "Trial by newspaper," they have argued, threatens the very foundations of the justice system. At the same time, while some have looked with envy at the strong restrictions placed on media reports of ongoing criminal proceedings in England and other countries, the tendency in the United States over the last two centuries has been to restrict the power of the courts over media reporting of trials.

Now, in the information age, with an ever-increasing number of electronic programmers screaming for our attention, "trial by newspaper" is replaced with the "television trial." Will the justice system survive the onslaught?

Professor Thaler, director of journalism and media at Mercy College, argues that by allowing television into courtrooms, a trend that began in the 1970s and now allows television access to some judicial proceedings in more than forty-five states and in federal courts on an experimental basis, we may well have entered into a "Faustian bargain where part of the soul of our judicial legacy is traded for what we believe is a measure of progress" (xxiii).

To examine the effect of televised trials on the justice system, the author presents an overview of the history of the cameras in the courtroom and a case study of the highly publicized trial in New York state of Joel Steinberg for the murder of his six-year-old daughter. Many readers will recall the images of the battered face of Hedda Nussbaum as she testified against Steinberg in the 1988 trial.

Both the overview of cameras in the courts and the case study are loosely grounded in the work of Neil Postman. If you accept Postman's McLuhanesque view of the effect of technology on communication, then Thaler's discussion of the justice system and television will have some appeal; however, the case study is painfully flawed. Rather than illuminate the question at hand, the author gives us a selective set of random opinions about the trial and, in a chapter titled "The Steinberg Interview," offers what only can be called an apology for Joel Steinberg.

While few if any criminal convictions have been overturned since the landmark *Chandler v. Florida* decision in 1981, the effect of increased video coverage of the judicial system remains an important area for communication and law scholarship. The economic, social, and technological forces that result in the overheated and distorting coverage of criminal proceedings, such as the "O.J. trial," should make us fear for the future of justice. There is much important work to be done.

Tim Gleason, University of Oregon

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Liz Trotta, ***Fighting for Air: In the Trenches with Television News***. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994. 399 pp. Paper, $16.95.

News reporter Liz Trotta's *Fighting for Air* is broadcast history with an attitude. It is a rather bitter memoir of the pivotal years when broadcast news went from hiring seasoned and talented newspaper reporters to a reliance upon attractive personalities and what Trotta calls, "trivialized reporting of complicated events." It was a period when "the portentous man in the 1930s trench coat was slowly replaced by an earnest anchor given to smiling." That shift, Trotta writes, gave her "an irrevocable sense of loss that drove me to write this book."

Trotta witnessed and participated in those years, "the Golden Age in TV news," from being hired in 1965 as NBC's "girl reporter" to being fired by CBS in 1985 at least partly, she suggests, because she was over 40 and not blonde. However, Trotta also acknowledges that she had a reputation for being a "troublemaker," a label she seems proud of because that quality also made her a better reporter. There is ample evidence of that in her memoir, which is a good read, often insightful, and replete with harsh analyses of other broadcasters, network executives, and television news decision-making in general.

As the first female broadcaster to cover the Vietnam War, Trotta has much to share. It was clearly the most meaningful assignment of her career and one for which she had to fight. She is open about her conservative political views and thus quite critical of both government handling and media coverage of the war. She writes, "No one had to spell it out, but I had a sharp impression that getting in the paper or on the air often meant producing stories that buttressed gloomy assumptions about the war: All Americans were moral

mutants, all South Vietnamese were corrupt, the Hanoi troops fought for a just cause." Her vivid descriptions of her time in Vietnam offer portraits of both the varied types that made up the press corps and the challenge of covering "a wild and crazy war." There are scathing and touching portraits of journalists, from the very famous to the largely unknown. Trotta neither pulls her punches, nor hesitates to name names.

Like some women pioneers of her generation, Trotta is unwilling to grant the women's movement any credit for her success or willing to acknowledge its important role in American society. She chronicles her own struggle against discrimination in journalism including the strong resistance to sending a woman on the story she wanted to cover, Vietnam. Yet once there she applied the same simplistic stereotyping to the sexes: "In Vietnam I learned the difference between men and women... When the shooting started, man's instinct was to hunt and defend – quite a dazzling sight. Mine was to retreat, and no course in basic training would have changed that." Trotta just seems to accept the fact that the journalist she so much admired, Walter Cronkite, could stay on the air until well past age sixty, while for women broadcasters like herself, forty could signal the end of a career.

Trotta is at her best when she surveys the state of broadcast news and the mostly young and attractive people who increasingly report it today. She tells of sneaking into the office of a well-known broadcaster for NBC in New York City: "One day, while he was out anchoring, I crept in to inspect his books. There were none, not even a dictionary." She laments the changes she saw as a CBS correspondent in London when "pictures – not commentary, analysis, words, if you will – assumed primacy in TV news." It was mainly "fireman's work, reacting, getting pictures, writing scripts too short for anything but built-in distortion. The golden, or at least gilded, era of foreign correspondence had given way to cops-and-robbers coverage, mostly out of context. Television reporters skimmed the surface, moved on, and rarely looked back."

But Trotta has looked back and offers in her book many revealing examples of what has gone wrong in broadcast news as well as a prescription – really a plea – for remaking TV news by abandoning its triviality. Her acerbic and outspoken commentary as an enjoyable and enlightening addition to journalism history.

Pamela A. Brown, Rider University

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William Uricchio and Roberta E. Pearson, ***Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films***. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993. 252 pp. Cloth, $45. Paper, $16.95.

Eleven reels of silent film depicting the works of Shakespeare and Dante as well as the lives of Moses, Napoleon, and George Washington became the catalyst for a fascinating historical inquiry into the American cultural formations that spurred the evolution of motion pictures from "cheap amusements" for immigrants and workers to a dominant mass medium engaging the middle class and even "converting" the clergy during the early part of this century. While media historians may profit from learning more about this small group of films with literary, historical, and biblical themes produced between

1907 and 1910 by the largest studio of the pre-Hollywood era, the innovative research techniques employed may be as beneficial to know about as the topic itself.

Through Uricchio, a film and television history professor at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands, and Pearson, an assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvannia's Annenberg School for Communication, caution that their case study may not be generalizable, their approach seems well suited for adaptation to other historical studies. The coauthors used their textual analysis of the "quality films" as an entry point to explore the cultural tensions within the motion picture industry as well as society on the whole. They document the industry's attempts to reposition itself as a respectable institution by using "high culture referents but ... in a low culture venue" at a time when the elite were trying to build consensus about a national identity.

To provide contextual confirmation about the conditions of the cinematic productions with few extant studio records and to describe conditions of reception among filmgoers with skimpy social survey evidence, the authors turned to alternative archival material when traditional sources proved inadequate.

Though they looked at Vitagraph's publicity aimed at exhibitors and its promotions in the form of trade press film reviews, film synopses and feature articles, the researchers questioned the veracity of many of the studio's claims about its audience. Uricchio and Pearson explained: "The haphazard nature and survival of empirical data coupled with the biased reports of a trade press ... limit out ability to rely on period evidence." Therefore, they went further in their cultural investigation and delved into news articles, editorials, and even poems of contemporaneous newspapers and magazines as well as advertising and other ephemera in order to track figures whose work and lives wound up on the silver screen.

The authors manage to dispel some popular notions about earlier Americans' supposed unfamiliarity and disinterest with cultural icons such as Shakespeare and Napoleon. They do this through a detailed examination of archival program material for museums, public libraries, theaters and "uplift organizations" for immigrants and the working class. They also collect evidence from cartoons, postcards, calendars, playing cards, writing tablets, inventories of popular paintings and statuary, and accounts of parades.

Uricchio and Pearson want this study to "reframe out late twentieth century assumptions," which should provoke us as well to further scholarship and reexamination of the mass media.

Norma Green, Columbia College - Chicago

Short Takes

Terhi Rantanen, ***Howard Interviews Stalin: How the AP, UP, and TASS Smashed the International News Cartel.*** Roy Howard Monographs in Journalism and Mass Communication Research, No. 3, 16 May 1994. Bloomington: Indiana School of Journalism, 1994. 52 pp. Paper, complimentary.

This monograph describes in detail how Roy Howard obtained his widely publicized interview with Josef Stalin in 1936, and how the AP, UP, and TASS made agreements that led to the breaking of the hold of the international cartel dominated by Reuters and Havas. It relies upon previously unpublished material from the TASS archives in Moscow and letters in the Roy W. Howard Archives at the School of Journalism, Indiana University – Bloomington.

Complimentary copies are available from Professor David Weaver, Roy W. Howard, School of Journalism, Ernie Pyle Hall 2001, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47505-6201. FAX: 82-855-0901.

Microfilm Edition, Agricultural Leaders Collection. University of Iowa. Iowa City: University of Iowa Libraries, 1994. Microfilm edition. Sixty-nine reels. $16.50 per reel.

The University of Iowa Libraries have completed microfilming the papers of four agricultural leaders who were also prominent journalists. Henry Wallace (1836-1916) was the founder and editor of *Wallaces' Farmer*. His son, Henry C. Wallace (1866-1924), was also editor of *Wallaces' Farmer* as well as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, 1921-1924. As president of the Iowa Farmers' Union, Milo Reno (1866-1936) was editor of *The Iowa Union Farmer*. In the 1930s he organized the National Farmers' Holiday Association. Edwin T. Meredith (1876-1928) was the founder of *Successful Farming* and other magazines and he served as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture in 1920-1921.

Positive service copies of the microfilm of the Henry Wallace Papers (four reels), Henry C. Wallace Papers (six reels), Milo Reno Papers (eight reels), and the Edwin T. Meredith Papers (fifty-one reels) are now available for use in the Media Services Department of the Main Library of the University of Iowa Libraries, through Interlibrary Loan, and for purchase. The cost will be approximately $16.50 per reel. For more information or guides to the microfilm, contact Robert A. McCown, Special Collections Department, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa 52242-1420; telephone (319) 335-5921; FAX (319) 335-5900; or e-mail robert-mccown@uiowa.edu.

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